International agencies, educational discourse, and the reform of teacher education in Argentina and Brazil (1985-2002): a comparative analysis

Jason Beech

Lifelong Education and International Development
Culture, Language and Communication

Institute of Education, University of London

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ABSTRACT

This thesis addresses the relationship between the discourses about teacher education produced by international agencies and the policies and practices of teacher education in Argentina and Brazil. In particular the thesis analyses the proposals of UNESCO, the World Bank and OECD for teacher education, arguing that there are certain common assumptions that underlie these recommendations. Based on the theories of Foucault, the thesis identifies a universal model for teacher education that international agencies promote as the solution to most educational problems in most contexts.

In order to illuminate the effects of the discourse produced by UNESCO, the World Bank and OECD, the thesis analyses the reforms of teacher education in Argentina and Brazil in the 1990s, showing a strong influence of international agencies on these reforms. However, the effects of the discourse of international agencies in Argentina and Brazil depend on the interaction of this discourse with local assumptions about what constitutes good education for teachers.

Consequently, the discourse of international agencies was recontextualized differently in each of these contexts of reception. Drawing upon the work of Ball and Bernstein, an analysis of interviews with teacher educators in Argentina and Brazil shows how the discourse of international agencies was re-interpreted in and through the views of teacher educators, revealing several unanticipated consequences of localising the proposals of international agencies in these countries.

Thus, this thesis shows that foreign influences in education cannot be explained by theories that are only centred on the state. Rather, comparative education needs a theory that takes into account supranational and sub national actors that are fundamental in defining educational practices. In order to contribute to the development of such a theory, the findings of this thesis are placed within a broader theoretical model to map the circulation of discourse in the global educational field.

DECLARATION

I declare that the work presented in this thesis is my own work. I am responsible for all the research and analyses submitted in this thesis. Except where specified or implied in references to other publications, the work reported is original. This thesis has not been previously submitted for a higher degree at this or any other institution of higher education. The word length of this thesis is 99,848 words, including endnotes.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

The opening chapter in this thesis is deliberately short and, like Gaul, will be divided into three parts. The first section will briefly introduce the main theme of the thesis and its three overall arguments. The second section will describe the chapter structure. The last section offers an overview of the theoretical approach used in the thesis. It is this last part of Chapter One that will be re-visited in a more extended treatment in Chapter Two.

Main theme and arguments

This thesis will analyse the proposals of UNESCO, the World Bank and OECD for teacher education between 1985 and 1996. Then, the thesis will examine how the recommendations of these agencies influenced reforms of teacher education in Argentina and in Brazil in the 1990s. Finally, the thesis will explore how the ideas promoted by international agencies moved from official rhetoric in Argentina and Brazil to actual teacher education institutions in these countries.

The project of writing this thesis began as I was exploring education policy in Latin America. Most countries in the region had initiated educational reforms between the 1980s and the early 1990s. Ecuador passed its *Ley de Educación* in 1983. In Uruguay the *Ley de Educación* was sanctioned in 1985. In Chile the *Ley Orgánica Constitucional de Enseñanza* [Organic Constitutional Law of Teaching] was approved in 1990. In that same year an educational law was passed in El Salvador. In 1992 a Ten-Year Educational Plan was established in the Dominican

Republic. In 1993 the *Ley Federal de Educación* was passed in Argentina and a new educational law was sanctioned in Mexico. Bolivia approved its *Ley de Reforma Educativa* in 1994 and in that same year the Colombian *Ley General de Educación* was passed. In 1996 the *Lei de Diretrizes e Bases da Educação* [Law of Guidelines and Foundations of Education] was approved in Brazil[1].

Thus, in a thirteen-year period many countries in Latin America established new laws that regulate their educational systems. Furthermore, the reforms initiated with these laws were based on similar principles: decentralisation, school autonomy, the professionalisation of teachers, a curriculum based on competencies, and the setting up of central evaluation systems[2].

For example, in an eight-year period central evaluation systems were established in eleven Latin American Countries. In 1986 the *Programa de Pruebas Nacionales del Ministerio de Educación Pública* was set up in Costa Rica. In 1988 the *Sistema de Medición de la Calidad de la Educación* was established in Chile. In Brazil, the *Sistema Nacional de Avaliação Básica* was founded in 1990, and in that same year a National Evaluation System was created in Colombia. In 1992 similar systems were established in Paraguay and Mexico. The *Sistema Nacional de Evaluación de la Calidad* in Argentina was set up in 1993. Uruguay and Bolivia started their own National Evaluation Systems in 1994. Similar centralised systems were established in Ecuador in 1995 and in Peru in 1996[3].

I was surprised by this apparent uniformity. Furthermore, this uniformity was not restricted to education policy. While defining my PhD proposal I was writing an

essay review analysing eight books that referred to 'Latin American education'[4]. These were mostly edited books that included the views of different authors. The need for change was stressed by most authors, but what was most surprising was that these advocacies for change moved along very similar lines. The themes of solving an educational crisis by promoting quality, equity and efficiency were dominant in these texts. In addition, the strategies that were suggested in the texts emphasised decentralisation and school autonomy, curricular transformation, the setting of standards and evaluation, and improving the teaching profession.[5]

Thus, the analysis of these books and the simultaneity and overall similarity in the educational reforms implemented in the region suggested that during the 1980s and 1990s Latin American education was caught within a narrow discursive frame.

In previous years I had travelled around most countries in Latin America and I knew from readings and from my personal experience that these were very different places, with marked socio-political variations. In addition, from my studies in comparative education, I had 'inherited' the assumption that the particular patterns of an educational system were related to the specific socio-political characteristics of a given society. So, how could this sudden wave of similar educational reforms in such different societies be explained?

Overall, I found two very broad interpretative tendencies in the corpus of the Latin American educational literature to explain these similarities: the perspective of 'regional tendencies' and the perspective of 'domination'.

The perspective which stresses 'regional tendencies' suggests that the global economy has affected Latin American nations, and their national educational systems, in a similar way. Since all nations have the same problems, they apply similar solutions. The mainstream analytic literature tends to interpret this pattern as part of 'regional tendencies'[6]. The perspective which stresses 'domination' argues that the similarities of national educational reforms in Latin America are a result of cultural imperialism and neo-colonialism exercised by the so-called 'First World' on Latin American countries to keep them economically, politically and culturally dependent[7].

Nevertheless, what is common to these two perspectives is that they both emphasise international agencies as fundamental actors in defining the principles that guided educational reforms in Latin America. International agencies, from the perspective of 'regional tendencies', are seen as providing a democratic and participatory space in which experts from different countries exchange ideas and find solutions to similar problems[8]. From the point of view that stresses 'domination', international agencies are perceived as an instrument of the 'First World', used to impose certain educational agendas on Latin American – and other – countries[9]. Thus, these two perspectives represent different ideological stances towards the work of international agencies, but neither of them explain the process through which the proposals of these agencies materialise in similar educational reforms in different contexts.

Even though the sharing of similar problems amongst Latin American nations and the processes of cultural imperialism can be noted, this thesis suggests a different

perspective – based on the analysis of discourse – to understand the influence of international agencies on educational reforms in Latin American. The study of discourse (using a Foucauldian definition of this term) tries to understand why of all the things that could be said and done at a given time in a given context, only certain things are said and done[10].

Thus, a perspective based on the analysis of discourse seemed to be a useful approach to try to make sense of the uniformity that I had found in education policy in Latin America. From this perspective, the similarities in educational reforms in Latin America made me think of several questions: Are international agencies producing a 'global educational discourse'? Can the existence of this discourse explain the simultaneity and similarity in educational reforms in Latin America? What happens as this discourse interacts with local assumptions about what constitutes 'good education'?

These were the questions that inspired me to start this investigation. These questions also led me to define three tasks for the thesis:

- To identify 'global educational discourse'.
- To analyse how this discourse influenced educational reforms in Latin America.
- To analyse what happens as this discourse moves from official rhetoric into the level of practices.

In order to identify 'global educational discourse' this thesis will analyse the knowledge that UNESCO, the World Bank and OECD promoted through one of their

self-proclaimed roles which they describe, in a variety of ways, as the 'circulation of cutting-edge knowledge about education'[11]. In particular, this thesis will analyse the knowledge about teacher education promoted by these three agencies between 1985 and 1996.

The decision to select these three organisations for the analysis offered in this thesis was based on three principles. In the first place, UNESCO, the World Bank and OECD were selected because of the active role that they have in the 'transfer' of educational knowledge[12]. The second rationale for selecting these agencies was that they can be seen as having very different perspectives towards education (evidence of this claim will be presented in Chapter Three). Finally, the spatial scope of these agencies was considered. In other words, to which countries of the world are their proposals aimed?

The three agencies being analysed were created for the reconstruction of Europe after the Second World War[13], clearly a function that has become redundant. Consequently the efforts of these agencies have been oriented towards the 'development' of the world[14]. Each has its specific scope: whilst UNESCO's proposals are universal – aimed at the whole world, the World Bank's recommendations are aimed mainly to the "developing" countries, and this category is defined by excluding the OECD member countries from the Bank's scope[15]. Consequently, if the OECD is included, and the work of these three agencies is taken as a whole, looking for the underlying assumptions that are common to the educational proposals of these three organisations, a 'global educational discourse' that has education in most of the world as its object can be identified.

In order to analyse in more detail how the assumptions of UNESCO, the World Bank and OECD are expressed in their proposals the thesis will refine its focus concentrating on the proposals of these agencies for teacher education.

In the first place I decided to concentrate on teacher education because of my professional identity. I work in the School of Education of Universidad de San Andrés in Argentina. In this institution we offer undergraduate and postgraduate courses in education which are attended both by teachers and by people who lecture in teacher education. Thus, my professional identity is closely related to teacher education.

Secondly, I chose teacher education because it is a strategic area for education policy. An attempt to reform the kind of education offered in an educational system would generally include an effort to change teacher education since it is teachers who would ultimately have the responsibility to translate curricular policies into practice. Consequently, examining the knowledge that is transmitted to teachers in their initial training should reveal a whole range of assumptions about education and about the culture which the schools intend to transmit.[16] Furthermore, I assumed that the other principles that were common to the educational reforms in Latin American – decentralisation, school autonomy, curricular reform, and the setting up of central evaluation systems – would have an effect on reforms of teacher education.

Thus, teacher education was something I wanted to think about and personally considered a fundamental and critical area for political intervention.

Teacher education is also important for this thesis because I assumed that it would be considered by international agencies a strategic aspect of their proposals. In addition, since describing the way in which school teachers and their professional education are regarded should expose a whole range of embedded attitudes about education, teacher education should be an interesting site to analyse the interaction between 'global educational discourse' and local assumptions about what constitutes 'good education'.

Finally, the time period – 1985 to 1996 – was chosen because once 'global educational discourse' has been identified, the thesis will move on to analyse the influence of this discourse on educational reforms in Argentina and Brazil in the 1990s. The Argentine educational reform started in 1993, while the Brazilian reform was initiated in 1995. Consequently I assumed that the texts about education produced by UNESCO, the World Bank and OECD between 1985 and 1996 represented the knowledge that these agencies were promoting during the period in which the Argentine and Brazilian reforms were being discussed and defined.

The decision to chose Argentina was obvious: it is my home country. In the case of Brazil, the decision to select this country as the most interesting case to compare with Argentina was based on the assumption that 'global educational discourse' is interpreted differently within different local cultures. Bernstein notes that every time a discourse moves, "there is a space in which ideology can play...As this discourse moves, it is ideologically transformed; it is not the same discourse any longer".[17] It is the moving between contexts that defines the transformation of a discourse[18]. Therefore, the reception of 'global educational discourse' in different

contexts should result in particular interpretations and enactments of this discourse in each of these contexts.

Thus, Brazil was selected for this research project because it has a very different social and cultural historical trajectory when compared with Argentina. As will be shown in Chapter Four, these differences resulted in significant particularities in the way in which educational systems were developed in each of these countries. Nevertheless, both Argentina and Brazil implemented reforms of their educational systems in the 1990s based on those principles – identified earlier in this chapter – that were common to most education reforms in Latin America. Consequently, Argentina and Brazil provide an interesting comparison to analyse how 'global educational discourse' could have been transformed differently as it interacted with different local cultures.

The reforms of teacher education in Argentina and in Brazil in the 1990s will be examined through an analysis of the curricular guidelines for teacher education that have been defined at the national level in these countries. In addition, other official documents and regulations that support the curricular reform will be considered. These documents will be analysed to assess whether the proposals of international agencies had an influence on official rhetoric in these two countries.

However, even though official documents promote certain knowledge for teacher trainees in Argentina and in Brazil, this does not necessarily imply that these ideas are being transmitted in teacher training institutions. Teacher educators are the agents who should put curricular guidelines for teacher education into practice.

Lecturers who work in teacher education in Argentina and Brazil could have acted as mediators in the message that is transmitted from the state to future teachers, promoting, blocking or filtering some of the global influences that are contained in national curricula.

Therefore, this thesis will offer an analysis of interviews that were conducted with teacher educators in Argentina and in Brazil. The objective of the field work was to illuminate what happened with 'global educational discourse' as it moved from official rhetoric in Argentina and Brazil to teacher training institutions in these countries.

In summary, this thesis will analyse the proposals of UNESCO, the World Bank and OECD for teacher education between 1985 and 1996, and how these proposals influenced educational reforms in Argentina and Brazil during the 1990s. In addition, the thesis will explore how the ideas contained in the recommendations of international agencies moved from policies into practice.

This thesis has three main arguments. These arguments will be stated very simply in this section, and will be revisited and restated in Chapter Two, once the theoretical approach of this thesis has been presented.

The first overall argument of this thesis is that UNESCO, the World Bank and OECD share a similar set of assumptions which underlie their proposals for education. Consequently, it is argued in this thesis that through their proposals these agencies are producing a 'global educational discourse'.

The second overall argument of this thesis is that 'global educational discourse' has influenced educational reforms implemented in Argentina and Brazil in the 1990s.

The third overall argument of this thesis is that as 'global educational discourse' moved into the Argentine and Brazilian educational systems it was 'transformed' differently in each of this countries.

Chapter structure

In order to explore these arguments, the thesis is divided into seven chapters. Following this introductory chapter, a theoretical approach to 'global educational discourse' is offered in Chapter Two. Educational systems throughout the world have developed through "the comparison, exchange and diffusion of ideas and practices, often and demonstrably across international borders"[19]. This exchange of educational ideas and practices across international borders is an ongoing process that has caught the attention of comparativists throughout the world. Consequently, 'foreign influences' have been studied in the field of comparative education through the notion of 'educational transfer', which Cowen has identified as one of the unit ideas of the field[20].

Thus, Chapter Two starts with an analysis of the concept of transfer in mainstream comparative education. The literature about 'educational transfer' will be reviewed to evaluate whether available interpretations of educational transfer could

provide a guide to construct a theoretical approach for this thesis. Using this literature review as a starting point, the Chapter moves on to introduce the theoretical approach that will be used in the thesis to understand how international agencies influenced educational reforms in Argentina and Brazil. In addition, in the last part of Chapter Two, the main arguments of this thesis will be reviewed and restated.

Chapter Three analyses the educational proposals of UNESCO, the World Bank and OECD. The texts about education published by these three agencies will be examined, assessing whether similar assumptions can be identified in the proposals of UNESCO, the World Bank and OECD. Later, the recommendations of these agencies for teacher education will be analysed. The principles promoted by UNESCO, the World Bank and OECD for teacher education between 1985 and 1996 will be used in the rest of the thesis as a '*tertium comparationis*' to evaluate if and how international agencies have influenced reforms of teacher education in Argentina and in Brazil in the 1990s.

Chapter Four offers a comparative view over time of teacher education in Argentina and Brazil. There are mainly three reasons to present such an analysis in this thesis. In the first place, a view over time of teacher education in Argentina and Brazil could help understand the contexts into which – it has been argued – 'global educational discourse' moved in the 1990s. In the second place, the analysis offered in Chapter Four will identify the kind of knowledge that has been offered in different historical periods to teachers in their initial training in Argentina and Brazil. Identifying this knowledge will contribute to an understanding of the extent to which the proposals of international agencies represented (or not) a rupture with the kind of

education that has traditionally been offered to teachers in these countries. Finally, the third reason for presenting a view over time of teacher education in Argentina and Brazil is to suggest, comparatively, that trajectories of teacher education have been different in Argentina and in Brazil. Consequently if 'global educational discourse' moved into Argentina and Brazil in the 1990s it could have been transformed differently in each of these countries.

Then, the thesis moves on to analyse the influence of 'global educational discourse' on Argentine and Brazilian educational reforms in the 1990s, looking at how this discourse transformed (and was transformed by) local assumptions about what constitutes good teacher education.

Chapter Five analyses reforms of teacher education in Brazil and Argentina in the 1990s, by examining the laws and regulations that organise these systems of teacher education, and the curricular guidelines that have been established for teacher education at the national level. The analysis will be centred on the influences of international agencies and the particular interpretation that recommendations for teacher education promoted by these agencies have been given in Brazilian and Argentine policies. The general patterns of educational reform implemented in Brazil and Argentina in the 1990s will be examined as an introduction, to place the specific analysis of teacher education in the context of the broader educational policies in these countries.

In Chapter Six the thesis presents an analysis of a series of interviews that were conducted with teacher educators in Argentina and Brazil. Even though

Argentine and Brazilian policies for teacher education could have included some of the ideas promoted by international agencies, this does not necessarily entail that these ideas are being transmitted in teacher training institutions. In other words, a gap could exist between the formulation of teacher education policies and actual teacher education practices in these countries. To explore this possible gap, teacher educators in Argentina and Brazil were interviewed. The field work was aimed at trying to grasp how lecturers, who put into practice the curricular guidelines of the state, make sense of the ideas contained in these directives, and what are their overall standpoints towards the principles that were promoted by international agencies and included in these curricular guidelines.

In this way this thesis will explore the movement of 'global educational discourse' from the proposals of international agencies, through national policies in Argentina and Brazil, and into teacher training institutions that actually provide professional education to teachers in these countries.

Theoretical approach

The theoretical approach that will be used in this thesis will be based on the combination of the work of different scholars. In the first place, the thesis will explore the theories that have been used in the literature of comparative education to make sense of processes of educational transfer. These theories will be mainly analysed in the first section of Chapter Two.

It will be suggested in the second section of Chapter Two that Foucault's

notion of discourse could be a helpful theoretical device to make further sense of foreign influences in education. Furthermore, it will be suggested that Foucault's notion of discourse and his approach to the relation between knowledge and power could be especially useful to understand process through which international agencies influence educational reforms in specific educational systems.

Some of the concepts used by Ball when applying Foucault's theories to education will also be used in this thesis. In particular, Ball's conception of policies both as text and as discourse[21] will be used in Chapter Six to analyse the way in which ideas promoted by international agencies moved from official rhetoric in Argentina and in Brazil to actual teacher education practices. It will be suggested that these concepts within Ball's work provide a useful analytic approach to understand how the proposals of international agencies could have defined certain discursive limitations in the Argentine and in Brazilian educational systems, but at the same time, within these limitations, there could have been different interpretations and enactments of these proposals.

To analyse in detail how and why these different interpretations and practices could occur, Bernstein's concept of recontextualization will be used. In his article on *The social construction of pedagogic discourse*,[22] Bernstein develops a theory which attempts to explore the rules of construction, circulation, recontextualization and acquisition of pedagogic discourse. Although the whole theory will not be used in this thesis, it will be suggested that some concepts developed by Bernstein could provide a guide to better understand how and why different interpretations and practices could occur as the proposals of international agencies are translated into

practice.

Thus, this chapter has briefly stated the main themes and arguments of the thesis. In addition, the chapter structure and the authors that will be primarily used to construct the theoretical approach of this thesis have been presented. In the next chapter, the overall arguments will be revisited and restated. In parallel, the theoretical approach of this thesis will be developed, starting with an analysis of how the concept of educational transfer has been construed in the literature of comparative education.

Endnotes

[1] Cecilia Braslavsky and Silvina Gvirtz, "Nuevos Desafíos Y Dispositivos En La Política Educacional Latinoamericana De F in De Siglo [New Challenges and Devices in Latin American Educational Policy at the End of the Century]," in *Cuadernos De La OEI. Educación Comparada* (Madrid: Organización de Estados Iberoamericanos para la Educación, la Ciencia y la Cultura (OEI), 2000); Organización de Estados Iberoamericanos para la Educación, la Ciencia y la Cultura (OEI), *Observatorio Para La Educación Iberoamericana*. Cited September 2004. Available from http://www.oei.es/observatorio/leyes.htm

[2] Braslavsky and Gvirtz, "Nuevos Desafíos Y Dispositivos En La Política Educacional Latinoamericana De F in De Siglo [New Challenges and Devices in Latin American Educational Policy at the End of the Century]."; Alberto Martinez Boom, "Políticas Educativas En Iberoamérica [Education Policies in *Iberoamerica*]," in *Cuadernos De La OEI. Educación Comparada* (Madrid: Organización de Estados Iberoamericanos para la Educación, la Ciencia y la Cultura (OEI), 2000).

[3] Silvina Gvirtz and Silvina Larripa, "Reforming School Curricula in Latin America: A Focus on Argentina," in *Curriculum Change and Social Inclusion: Perspectives from the Baltic and Scandinavian Countries*, ed. Sobhi Tawil (Geneva: IBE-UNESCO, 2002).

[4] Jason Beech, "Latin American Education: Perception of Linearities and the Construction of Discursive Space," *Comparative Education* 38, no. 4 (2002).

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ernesto Schiefelbein and Juan Carlos Tedesco, *Una Nueva Oportunidad: El Rol De La Educación En El Desarrollo De América Latina [A New Opportunity: The Role of Education in the Development of Latinamerica]* (Buenos Aires: Santillana, 1995).

[7] Jose Luis Corragio, "Education Policy and Human Development in the Latin American City," in *Latin American Education: Comparative Perspectives*, ed. Carlos Alberto Torres and Adriana Puiggros, (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1997); Martinez Boom, "Políticas Educativas En Iberoamérica [Education Policies in *Iberoamerica*]."

[8] Schiefelbein and Tedesco, *Una Nueva Oportunidad: El Rol De La Educación En El Desarrollo De América Latina [A New Opportunity: The Role of Education in the Development of Latinamerica]*.

[9] Corragio, "Education Policy and Human Development in the Latin American City."; Martinez Boom, "Políticas Educativas En Iberoamérica [Education Policies in *Iberoamerica*]."

[10] Michel Foucault, *La Arqueología Del Saber* (Mexico & Madrid: Siglo venitinuo editores, 1999), p. 44.; Michel Foucault, "Politics and the Study of Discourse," *Ideology and Consciousness*, no. 3 (1978): p. 14.

[11] World Bank. Web page. Cited November 2001. Available from. www.worldbank.org; Federico Mayor, Sema Tanguiane, and Unesco, *Unesco - an Ideal in Action: The Continuing Relevance of a Visionary Text* (Paris: Unesco, 1997), p. 77; George S. Papadopoulos, *Education 1960-1990: The OECD Perspective* (Paris: OECD, 1994), p. 13 and p. 203; OECD. Web page. Cited November 2001. Available from www.oecd.org

[12] See Chapter Three for evidence on the active role that UNESCO, the World Bank and OECD have in the 'transfer' of educational knowledge.

[13] "Conceived during World War II at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, the World Bank initially helped rebuild Europe after the war. Its first loan of $250 million was to France in 1947 for post-war reconstruction." World Bank. Web page. Cited November 2001. Available from www.worldbank.org. Jones also notes that the World Bank was planned in the meetings that took place in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire in July 1944. "It was the 'International Bank for Reconstruction and Development' (IRBD) that opened its doors for business on June 1946... prior to 1956 the 'Bank' can only refer to the IRBD". Phillip Jones, *World Bank Financing of Education* (London & New York: Routledge, 1992), pp. 3-4.; UNESCO. Web page. Cited November 2001. Available from http://firewall.unesco.org; The OECD was funded in 1961 out of the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation, which was formed to administer North American aid under the Marshall Plan for reconstruction of Europe after World War II. OECD. Web page. Cited November 2001. Available from www.oecd.org; Papadopoulos, *Education 1960-1990: The OECD Perspective*, pp. 21-22.

[14] Currently, the main mission of the World Bank is to help "more than 100 developing economies" (or countries) to attain "stable, sustainable and equitable growth". World Bank. Web page. Cited November 2001. Available from www.worldbank.org . The recognition that "peace and development are indissolubly linked, like the two sides of the same coin", has placed the issue of "world development" as the first and foremost challenge of UNESCO. Unesco, *Medium-Term Strategy 1996-*

2001 (Paris: Unesco, 1996), opening letter. Foreword. "Since it took over from the OEEC in 1961, the OECD vocation has been to build strong economies in its member countries, improve efficiency, hone market systems, expand free trade and contribute to development in industrialised as well as developing countries" OECD. Web page. Cited November 2001. Available from www.oecd.org

[15] The World Bank divides the world into two types of countries: developed and developing. This concept of space is defined in terms of the wealth of nations, thus "low – and middle – income countries" coincide with "developing countries", in contrast to countries that are members of the OECD and, thus, are high income and "developed" countries. Marlaine E. Lockheed, *Improving Primary Education in Developing Countries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for World Bank, 1992), p. 63; World Bank, *Priorities and Strategies for Education: A World Bank Sector Review* (Washington, DC: World Bank, 1995)., pp. xii - xv

[16] Ibid.

[17] Basil Bernstein, *Pedagogy, Symbolic Control and Identity: Theory, Research, Critique* (London: Taylor & Francis, 1996), p. 47

[18] Andrew J. Brown, "The Rhetoric and Practice of Primary Mathematics Teaching and the National Curriculum," in *The National Curriculum and the Primary School: Springboard or Straightjacket?*, ed. J. Riley (London: Kogan Page, 1992).

[19] Robin Alexander, *Culture and Pedagogy: International Comparisons in Primary Education* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2000), p. 42.

[20] Robert Cowen, "Sketches of a Future: Renegotiating the Unit Ideas of Comparative Education," in *Internationalisation: Comparing Educational Systems and Semantics*, ed. Marcelo Caruso and Heinz-Elmar Tenorth (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2002).

[21] Stephen Ball, "What Is Policy? Texts, Trajectories and Toolboxes," in *Sociology of Education: Major Themes Vol IV*, ed. Stephen Ball (London: Routledge Falmer, 2000).

[22] Basil Bernstein, *The Structuring of Pedagogic Discourse* (London: Routledge, 1990).

Chapter 2

Global educational discourse: A theoretical approach to the work of international agencies in education

The purpose of this Chapter is to develop the theoretical approach that will be used throughout the rest of the thesis to analyse how the educational proposals of UNESCO, the World Bank and OECD influenced reforms of teacher education in Argentina and in Brazil in the 1990s.

In the field of comparative education 'foreign influences' have been studied through the notion of 'educational transfer'. This has been a fundamental theme in comparative education, to the point that Cowen identifies 'transfer' as one of the unit ideas of the field[1]. Overall, the concept of 'educational transfer' can be defined as the deliberate movement of educational ideas, institutions or practices across international borders.

As will be shown in this chapter, interpretations of transfer have been mostly centred on relations between national states. However, under current conditions of so called 'globalisation' foreign influences have become more complex. Giddens refers to a "global society" as a society of "indefinite space"[2], in which no one is outside, since pre-existing traditions cannot escape having contact with 'the other', and with alternative ways of life[3]. In such a context, significant social relations exist which are neither between nor outside states, "but simply crosscut state divisions".[4]

Therefore, in order to analyse foreign influences in education a wider concept space is needed. Of course, current theories of foreign influences in education should still consider the state as a fundamental actor. However such theories should also be able to take into account other supranational actors in the educational field, such as international agencies and regional blocks, and also sub-national actors such as local authorities and institutions.

Nevertheless, even if the world has changed that does not necessarily imply that older ways of thinking about foreign influences should be automatically dismissed. Quite the opposite, this thesis suggests that it is on the basis of previous ideas that new ways of thinking can be constructed. If older theories cannot capture the 'political reorganisation of world-space'[5], new ways of thinking about foreign influences in education should be developed. However, this does not imply developing ahistorical theories. On the contrary, historical interpretations of foreign influences should be reviewed to assess which ideas can be kept, which should be readapted, and which should be discarded. In this way, by conversing with 'the classics', theoretical gaps in the field can be identified, and an attempt can be made to fill in these gaps, contributing to the collective (re)construction of comparative education.

Thus, to develop a theoretical approach for this thesis, this chapter will start by analysing the mainstream literature in comparative education, identifying the key changes over time in the way in which processes of educational transfer were understood.

Using the literature of comparative education as a starting point, the chapter will then introduce Foucault's concept of 'discourse', suggesting that it is an especially useful theoretical device to analyse current foreign influences in education. Foucault points out that knowledge and political power are "woven together"[6], they are two sides of the same coin. The way in which we view the world, the way in which we think and speak or write about the world affects the way in which we act upon it. Thus, in the contemporary world power is exercised less through material force and more through the ways in which knowledge defines the problems and practices of our daily lives.[7] From this perspective discourse is seen as a form of power that circulates in the social field[8].

This thesis suggests that in order to capture 'foreign influences' in education, the field of comparative education needs to develop a theory that can map the circulation of knowledge/power in the global educational field. It is this kind of theory that would illuminate processes through which educational ideas and practices 'move' between different social and political contexts.

To contribute to the development of such a theory, Foucault's concept of discourse and his analysis of the relation between power and knowledge will be used to develop a theoretical approach for this thesis. However, even if Foucault's theoretical concepts can contribute to an understanding of how the discourse produced by international agencies can influence educational reforms in Argentina and Brazil, a fundamental question remains. What happens as a discourse moves from its context of conception to another context?

To explore this question, Bernstein's concept of 'recontextualization' will be introduced. It will be suggested in this thesis that this concept is especially useful to illuminate the processes through which ideas about education change as they move from one context into another.

This chapter will be divided into two sections. The first part will analyse notions of 'transfer' in the literature of comparative education searching for continuities and discontinuities in the way that the process of educational transfer has been construed. Using the analysis of the first section as a starting point, the second part of the chapter will present the theoretical approach that will be used throughout the rest of the thesis to analyse the proposals of UNESCO, the World Bank and OECD for teacher education between 1985 and 1996, and how these proposals influenced reforms in Argentina and in Brazil in the 1990s.

The theme of educational transfer in comparative education

It will be argued in this section that some continuities can be traced in the way that the process of educational transfer has been understood in the comparative education literature. Although different scholars had different views about educational transfer, overall they followed an interpretation of this process in which educational transfer was construed as responding to the following pattern: (1) a local problem was identified; (2) solutions were sought in foreign educational systems; and (3) a 'tested' institution or educational practice (that had worked or was believed to have worked) was adapted to the new context and then implemented. (4) These processes occurred in a chronological order as described above.

Interpretations of the process of educational transfer can be traced back to the early nineteenth century, when Jullien de Paris (1775-1848) started with efforts to create a 'science' of education. Although the theme of transfer was mostly implicit in his writings, it was one of the major concerns within Jullien's work.

From Jullien's point of view, education was an independent "aspect" of social reality that could be analysed separately from its socio-historical contexts. For example, when establishing his "series of questions on comparative education"[9], no explicit consideration was given to the socio-historical context of education. Since education – in Jullien's view – was independent from its context, then educational "improvements [were] capable of being transported from one country to another"[10]. Jullien saw educational transfer as a desirable process, and this was the ultimate goal of his Plan. He believed that educational comparisons would "give birth to the idea of borrowing from one another what ... is good and useful".[11] Consequently, Jullien interpreted the "faithful imitations" of the *Ecole Polytechnique* of Paris in Russia and Austria, and the propagation of the English method of elementary teaching as being positive signs[12].

Furthermore, Jullien thought that general educational principles could be deduced and applied to improve education in most contexts[13]. He saw the "regeneration and perfection of public education" as a "universal tendency towards a similar goal"[14]. He believed that once a universal ideal of education was established from a series of "comparative tables", it was possible to use this model to "judge with ease" the educational deficiencies of each country, and then to deduce the

improvements that could be transferred from other countries to 'solve' these deviations from the ideal model.[15]

Finally, as has been mentioned, Jullien wished to create a science of (comparative) education. The new science would have a practical aim: "to procure prompt and sure means for regenerating and improving private and public education, in all conditions of society"[16] The science of education needed to be based on facts and observations that would permit the deduction of "certain principles, determined rules, so that education might become almost nearly a positive science"[17]. Thus, Jullien envisaged comparative education as a practical, positive science. Jullien operated within the logic of the Enlightenment – in the sense of a "unitary idea of history and of the subject"[18], and so did Victor Cousin some years later[19].

However, rather than trying to establish a set of general educational principles that could be applied in most contexts to improve education – as in Jullien's work – Cousin was concerned with using foreign examples for the development and 'improvement' of the system of education in France. In this, Cousin represented the spirit of his times more than Jullien (whose search for general educational principles would only be resumed with the creation of international agencies). The aim of improving national educational systems dominated comparative studies and educational transfer during the nineteenth century, as exemplified by the works of administrators such as Horace Mann, John Griscom and William T. Harris from the USA, Mathew Arnold and J. P. Kay-Shuttleworth from England, and Leo N. Tolstoy from Russia, amongst many others.[20]

These men (sic) were in most cases appointed by their governments to develop their own systems of education[21]. Following linear notions of progress[22], these travellers and reformers believed in the evolution of educational systems. Thus, they believed that by borrowing from abroad they could avoid some of the 'mistakes' made by other countries in their linear progress towards an ideal educational system.

For example, after his tour through some selected European countries, Horace Mann, in his Report to the Board of Education of the State of Massachusetts, noted:

> ...if we are wise enough to learn from the experience of others, rather than await the infliction consequent upon our own errors, we may yet escape...those calamities under which some other communities are now suffering. On the other hand, ...there are many things abroad which we, at home, should do well to imitate; things, some of which are here, as yet, mere matters of speculation and theory, but which, there have long been in operation, and are now producing a harvest of rich and abundant blessings.[23]

The belief in the linear progress of educational systems was also clear in the work of French statistician P. E. Levasseur. One of his contributions to comparative education in the 1880s consisted of a series of comparative statistical tables which allowed him to rank countries according to certain educational criteria.[24] His conclusion was that although individual countries had made 'considerable advances', the positions in the ranking had remained almost unchanged during two decades. "...it is certain that the Scandinavian states are at the head, that Germany and Switzerland follow closely; and that the Low Countries, France and Belgium come in third place".[25] A similar analysis was offered by Kay-Shuttleworth who, after taking charge of elementary education in England, travelled widely throughout Europe and argued that, with the exception of England, Protestant countries were more advanced in their provision of education than Catholic countries.[26]

Much of the work of these men was used in their own countries for educational reform. Cousin's *Report on the state of public instruction in Prussia*, for example, ended with a plea for educational transfer to take place: "Such are the most general causes of the prosperity of primary instruction in Prussia...May causes so simple and so prolific be speedily naturalized in our beloved country, and bring forth the same fruits!"[27] Consequently, the Guizot Law of 1833 that established the French system of primary education was based on Cousin's work.[28] This report was also translated into English and became quite popular in the USA and England (although its influence on actual developments in these places is not so clear)[29]. Similarly, Mann's Report cited above was very influential in Massachusetts.[30]

However, nineteenth century comparativists were not always in favour of educational borrowing. Some negative aspects of foreign educational systems were also noted. For example, Russian writer and educator Leo N. Tolstoy travelled to Western Europe to study educational institutions and their applicability in Russia. On his return to Russia in 1862 he asserted:

> ...what historical right have we Russians to say that our schools for the people should be like European schools, when we have none? Having studied the European history of education we are convinced that we Russians cannot build up teachers' seminars on a German model, or transfer here German methods, the English Infant School, the French lycée...and in this way overtake Europe.[31]

Nevertheless, a linear notion of progress is still present in Tolstoy's conclusion: "In consequence any imitation of European legislation on compulsory school attendance would be a step backwards and not forwards..."[32] Similarly, Francis Wayland, President of Brown University in the USA who visited England at mid-century, disapproved of the imitation of the Oxford-Cambridge model by pointing out "...how utterly unsuited to our condition must be [these] institutions founded for the

education of the medieval clergy..."[33]

Thus, the general idea of the feasibility of transfer was not denied. Rather, certain institutions or practices were not considered to be worthy of transfer. Mann, for example, noted that in his visit to Europe the learning had been two-fold, "that of warning as well as that of example. Europe exhibits beacons to terrify, as well as lights to guide".[34] He was very critical of education in many countries of Europe (except Prussia)[35], and took England as an example that should not be imitated in the USA.[36]

Furthermore, it was believed amongst nineteenth century comparativists that the process of selection also included the need to adapt what was being transferred to the new context. As noted by A. D. Bache, who reported to the Trustees of Girard College for Orphans in 1839 after his visit to Europe:

> Differences in political and social organization, in habits and manners, require corresponding changes to adapt a system of education to the nation; and, without such modifications, success in the institutions of one country is no guarantee for the same result in those of another.[37]

Likewise, Mann noted that "...if Prussia can pervert the benign influences of education to the support of arbitrary power, we surely can employ them for the support and perpetuation of republican institutions..."[38]. Cousin followed a similar position towards the need for adaptation:

> The true greatness of a people does not consist in borrowing nothing from others, but in borrowing everywhere what is good, and in perfecting whatever it appropriates.
> I am as great enemy as anyone of artificial imitations; but...With the promptitude and justness of the French understanding, and the indestructible unity of our national character, we may assimilate all that is good in other countries without fear of ceasing to be ourselves.[39]

In this way, institutions and pedagogic practices were seen as potentially neutral

technologies that could be used in different contexts with very different objectives and philosophies[40].

This view on the feasibility of transfer and on the practical aims of comparative education has been followed by some authors since Jullien up to the present day, as represented by books such as Trace's *What Ivan Knows That Johnny Doesn't* (1961)[41], Rickover's *Swiss Schools and Ours: Why Theirs Are Better* (1962)[42], the US Department of Education's report on *Japanese Education Today* (1987)[43], and Stevenson and Stigler's *The learning gap: why our schools are failing and what we can learn from Japanese and Chinese education* (1993)[44].

One of the most paradigmatic cases of the continuation of the kind of work carried out by Cousin, Mann, *et al* in the contemporary period was Chubb and Moe's *A Lesson in School reform from Great Britain*[45]. Very much in the spirit of its predecessors, Chubb and Moe went to England in an "effort to see what the British experience has to teach"[46]. After stating that the problems, the reforms and the conflicts of British and US education are "roughly the same", the authors conclude with a statement that shows their implicit belief in the linear progress of educational systems:

> The only real difference is that Britain, owing to its parliamentary form of government, has been able to move farther and faster towards a radical overhaul of its educational system – and is far more likely to succeed. We can only hope it does, and that America can some day follow in Britain's footsteps.[47]

Thus, Jullien's overall view on the feasibility of transfer and on the practical aims of comparative education continues to be followed by some authors until today.

However, a different view to Julien's appeared by the mid-nineteenth century with the work of Russian scholar, K. D. Ushinsky. Like Cousin, Mann, *et al*, Ushinsky studied the systems of education of a number of European countries (which he also visited) and of the "North American States"[48]. In 1857 he published an essay "On National Character of Public Education"[49] in which he described in detail the different "national characters" of education in Germany, England, France and the US. One of the propositions that he "set out to prove" with his article was that: "Every nation has its own particular national system of education; therefore, the borrowing by one nation of educational systems from another is impossible"[50].

Ushinsky also addressed explicitly the question of whether a universal model of education was feasible:

> But perhaps it is possible to put together a universal and perfect system by taking from each national system of education whatever is worthy of imitation? Perhaps it is possible to borrow from the Germans the richness of their scientific and philosophical development, from the English the ability to forge the power of intellect and character, from the French their ability to transmit technological knowledge...and out of all the different facets of the same concept to create a system of education which, achieving all these aims, would in its functioning attain the highest ideal of human perfection?[51]

His answer was negative: "It is impossible to so isolate education that the life surrounding it on all sides would have no influence upon it."[52]

A similar position emerged in English-language comparative education with the work of Michael Sadler, specifically, with Sadler's famous lecture at the Guildford Educational Conference in 1900[53]. In this conference Sadler explicitly addressed the issue of educational transfer. The title of his lecture was: "How Far Can We Learn Anything of Practical Value Form the Study of Foreign Systems of

Education?" And his answer was opposite to the answer that Jullien had offered one century before.

Sadler's view of the importance of context in the shaping of educational institutions and practices was expressed in his definition of an educational system. He noted that educational systems should not be seen as "nothing more or less than a system of schools"[54]. When studying foreign systems of education "we must not keep our eyes on the brick and mortar institutions, nor on the teachers and pupils only"[55]. On the contrary, the fundamental task in studying foreign education was to understand what is the "intangible, impalpable, spiritual force" which upholds the school system.[56] For example, Sadler argued that Germany's great school system was upheld by the "national interest in education"[57], and that the strong public interest in organised education in the US resulted from the belief that by means of "schools alone" all those "alien elements" could be brought together.[58]

If socio-historical context was more important than actual educational institutions and practices, particular parts of an educational system could not be successfully transferred to a different context:

> In studying foreign systems of Education we should not forget that the things outside the schools matter even more than the things inside the schools, and govern and interpret the things inside. We cannot wander at pleasure among the educational systems of the world, like a child strolling through a garden, and pick off a flower from one bush and some leaves from another, and then expect that if we stick what we have gathered into the soil at home, we shall have a living plant. A national system of Education is a living thing, the outcome of forgotten struggles and difficulties, and of "battles long ago"[59].

Thus, from Sadler's point of view, successful educational transfer (in those terms) was not possible. As he said when referring to the positive aspects that he saw in US

education: "Imitate it in any mechanical or literal way we cannot: profit by it we can..."[60]. For example, Sadler referred in a positive tone to the foreign influences that English "thought and institutions" had received from Italy, Germany, the Netherlands and, especially, from France.[61] Along these lines he affirmed that "there are some points in foreign systems of education...which, even if they cannot be actually reproduced here, will at any rate suggest improvements in our own practice"[62]. However, for Sadler the most important benefit that could be obtained from studying foreign systems of education was a better understanding of one's own educational system.[63] He placed the possible suggestions that could result from studying foreign systems of education on a lower plane of importance[64].

For Sadler, comparative education should not stress practical aims, rather, he suggested, comparative education should seek to learn by understanding foreign systems of education. For example, he proposed to send personnel of the English School Boards, principals and teachers on study trips to Switzerland in order to stimulate the "public interest in the welfare of our own schools".[65] Similarly, he suggested that more Englishmen (sic) should go to the US and "learn what is being done to encourage Nature-Study in schools"[66] Understanding was given more importance than practical aims. Furthermore, he rejected the idea of a universal model of education: "It is a great mistake to think, or imply, that one kind of education suits every nation alike".[67]

Sadler's line of thought was followed – albeit with some particularities – by Lauwerys and Hans. For Lauwerys, comparative education had two aims. The first objective was to seek a "theory of general education"[68]. However, when Lauwerys

developed this idea he referred to general aims of education, rather than to universal realisations of these aims. He suggested that although "general aims are still accepted almost everywhere, there are great differences in the ways in which attempts are made to realise them"[69]. The difference in the way that problems were formulated and answers given, resulted from different "historical experiences", "social structures", "technologies", and "commerce"[70].

For Lauwerys, the second objective of comparative education was studying what other educationalists did in other countries. In this way comparativists could get "helpful" ideas for their own environment.[71] However, he then noted: "we shall be able to borrow usefully and constructively only if we understand the basic principles".[72] His emphasis on context, on understanding rather than on practice, and the questioning of educational transfer are quite clear in his own words:

> The solutions proposed vary from country to country – inevitably, since they are conditioned and affected by different attitudes and different cultural histories. Even more will there be very great differences in the ways the reforms are described, talked about, justified. One of the chief purposes of the analysis presented in this paper is to help educationists to understand and to interpret what their colleagues in other lands are saying: only then will the experience of others be valuable, only then can a mutually fruitful dialogue be started.[73]

Similarly, Hans also emphasised socio-historic context, as expressed in his analysis of "factors and traditions"[74]. Hans stressed the analytical aspects of comparative education. For him, the main purpose of the field was "The analytical study of these factors from an historical perspective and the comparison of attempted solutions of resultant problems".[75] Furthermore, Hans renounced any participation of comparative education in practical matters: "The application of the findings of these

studies is outside the scope of Comparative Education proper and belongs in its theory to the philosophy of education and in its practice to the administration and organisation of education."[76]

Hans believed that "Absolute values in education" could be universally agreed upon[77]. Nevertheless, he questioned the possibility of transferring educational ideas between countries with different historical backgrounds, and criticised educators that "assume that the traditions and practices of their countries have a universal application and can be transferred *in toto*".[78] Thus, he gave some examples of transfer between Austria and Russia during the eighteenth century which had been partially successful, but only because of similar socio-historical contexts in these two places[79]. However, he had a very critical view of the transfer of European ideas to other parts of the world. He suggested that these transfers were based on the assumption of the superiority of the European or US civilizations, something that had not been proven.[80] His article on the transfer of ideas finishes with a question that could have opened some interesting lines of analysis in comparative education:

> Are we Europeans quite certain that we have a moral right to impose our technological civilization, the result of our historical development, upon less developed countries, and are we quite sure that humanity as a whole will benefit by such a submergence of non-European civilizations?[81]

However, this question was forgotten for many years – at least until the emergence of dependency theories in the 1970s[82]. Instead, it was the efforts to make comparative education a practical science that flourished.

Although Holmes explicitly declared himself to be a follower of Sadler's tradition[83] – taking Salder's view about the importance of context in defining

educational systems as a starting point – what he did was to propose a 'scientific' method that if applied with rigour would overcome the difficulties pointed out by Sadler, making successful educational borrowing possible[84].

Holmes' interpretation of educational transfer, and of comparative education in general, was subordinated to his Problem Approach. For example, Holmes had a "pragmatic" view of history: historical analysis was only beneficial as far as it could "illuminate present problems"[85]. Similarly, he borrowed the word 'factors' from Hans' theory, but did not follow Hans' overall interpretation[86]. For Holmes, local factors were only important as far as they could help to predict the outcomes of a given policy. Consequently, not all 'factors' had to be considered. Holmes suggested the need for a method for "weighing" the different factors, which ultimately, and ideally, would be "expressed mathematically"[87]. It was the 'problem' (which the social scientist was trying to solve) that should define the "relative weight given to political, economic, religious, and social forces"[88].

The aim of applying such an approach was to "predict and compare cross-culturally the educational consequences of a reform"[89]; in other words, to predict whether an educational transfer would be successful or not. Thus, the assumption was that successful educational transfer was possible. It was the task of comparative education to discern – using the Problem Approach – under which circumstances this could be done[90].

In Holmes' view comparative education was a practical science, a "practical instrument of reform", that should be aimed at predicting for planning[91]. The

Problem Approach attempted to make the "study [of comparative education] scientific"[92], a science in which "understanding comes, largely, through processes of prediction and verification"[93]. Therefore, the context of education was important, but only to predict the consequences of transfer; so that the solution that was being transferred could be adapted to avoid negative consequences.

Holmes was not alone in his preoccupation with giving scientific legitimation to the field of comparative education. The question of scientific method had already been posed by Bereday in the first issue of *Comparative Education Review*: "The discussion of methods of comparative education is perhaps the most urgent task which those who research and teach comparative education must face"[94]. Bereday himself took up the challenge with his book *Comparative Method in Education*[95], and so did Noah and Eckstein with *Toward a Science of Comparative Education*[96].

For Noah and Eckstein the most important problems with comparative education were easy to perceive:

> Why do we know so little for certain in comparative education, and why does comparative education hardly figure at all in the list of recognized fields of comparative study (history, sociology, religion, literature, economics, political science)? ... A number of problems appear fundamental to comparative education and presumably must be met head on and overcome if the field is ever to realize its potential. They are the problems of bias, utility of results, and eclecticism in both methodology and data.[97]

Thus, in their history of comparative education these authors criticise the early comparativists for ignoring the "obvious pitfalls of cultural bias"[98], and for their "unsystematic approaches"[99]. These early scholars are described in Noah and Eckstein as "representing the unfinished business of the field".[100] Of course, this implies that comparative education could some day 'finish its business', and in this

way Noah and Eckstein's history of the field is the perfect example of what Cowen describes as "documented histories that unfold the evolution of the discipline until the magical moment of teleological denouement: the field developed until it culminated in the epistemological position favoured by the writer of that particular history".[101]

It is interesting to note how the linear notion of progress applied by Jullien *et al* to educational systems, is used in Noah and Eckstein to account for the linear progress of comparative education as a positive science. Consequently, these authors understand that "the development of comparative education has been marked by five identifiable stages"[102].

Noah and Eckstein had a very similar position to Holmes on what should be the ultimate goal of comparative education: "If comparative education was to fulfil its potential as a tool for educational planning, it had to offer a means of reliable prediction."[103] Following this view, the foundation of UNESCO, OECD, and the World Bank was seen as a positive step towards the scientific legitimacy of the field: "The work of these organizations is in the hands of specialists. Thus, what began with philanthropy has ended with professionalism."[104] Noah and Eckstein's view on the work of these agencies was also extremely optimistic: "International provision of teams of educational experts, planners, administrators, and teachers has become one of the characteristic ways in which a well-off nation can show its practical concern for the plight of less fortunate people"[105].

International agencies were seen as being in an advanced position in the

fictional scale created by the belief in a linear progression towards a scientifically legitimated comparative education. This view would be fundamental for the self-positioning of these agencies as institutions of scientific experts that can predict the future and plan universal models of education (an idea that will be further explored in the next chapter).

However, Noah and Eckstein thought that the involvement of international organisations in processes of educational transfer was not essentially different from processes of educational transfer from one educational system to another. Consequently, they described the work of international agencies as being similar to the "phase of educational borrowing", although the emphasis was on lending rather than on borrowing[106].

This emphasis on 'lending' was the basis for new interpretations of educational transfer that appeared in the literature since the 1970s with the work of Martin Carnoy, who brought *dependencia* theories that had emerged in Latin America into the fore of comparative education[107]. In *Education as Cultural Imperialism*[108], Carnoy argued that Western education was transferred to most countries as part of imperialist domination[109]. He suggested that through European or US schooling, people were brought out of a "traditional hierarchy", only to be brought into a "capitalist hierarchy", and thus became more dependant and alienated than before.[110]

Carnoy described the French colonial system in Africa as using the same curriculum and language as in France, and in this way all Africans going to school

were educated as "black Frenchmen"[111]. A similar policy was followed by the British in India. However, Britain did not offer a British education to all Indians, but rather wanted to introduce only the ruling classes of India into British culture[112].

From this point of view, educational transfer was implicitly understood as an unproblematic process. Carnoy criticised the contents of the transfers he described for serving "some actual or desired social structure": capitalism[113]; but he did not question the process of transfer itself. In other words, Carnoy disapproved of the intention of the French to 'transfer' their schools to their colonies, but he did not question the capacity of the French to replicate their institutions in another cultural context. Therefore, from the point of view of Carnoy educational transfer was not desirable, but educational transfer had occurred.

Within this overall logic, that was very much followed by Altbach and Kelly in *Education and Colonialism*[114], international agencies were criticised for maintaining the status quo (inter-national inequalities and dependencies) and the inter-national division of labour[115]. However, in terms of analysing the kind of transfer promoted by these agencies, Carnoy understood that "foreign assistance bears a close resemblance to earlier efforts in the South".[116]

Carnoy, and Altbach and Kelly, introduced the problem of agency into discussions about educational transfer. They implicitly distinguished between voluntary and non-voluntary educational transfer depending on who was the prime agent of the process. However, the descriptions they made of non-voluntary educational transfer were still framed within trans-national interpretations of

educational transfer. In these cases it was a foreign authority that defined the problem and chose the solution. Nevertheless, in chronological order, a problem was identified, a solution sought, and a 'tested' institution or educational practice transferred from abroad.

Therefore, until the 1960s, there were two main positions towards educational transfer in the field of comparative education. One position, represented by Jullien, suggested that educational transfer was possible and desirable. On the contrary, from the other point of view, that could be represented by Sadler or Ushinsky, educational transfer was neither desirable nor possible. This discussion was part of overall debates about whether the field of comparative education should stress practical aims or not.

In the 1960s, approaches changed from debates about whether educational transfer was possible, to the search for scientific methods that would guarantee the success of an educational transfer and, later, to discussions about how processes of educational transfer could be interpreted as colonialist or neo-colonialist imposition.

Although different scholars had different views about educational transfer until the 1970s, they followed an overall interpretation of this process in which educational transfer was construed as responding to the following pattern: (1) a local problem was identified; (2) solutions were sought in foreign educational systems; and (3) a 'tested' institution or educational practice (that had worked or was believed to have worked) was adapted to the new context and then implemented. (4) These processes occurred in a chronological order as described above.

The only variation introduced to this interpretation depended on whether the prime agent of the process was the borrower or the lender. Clearly, in educational transfers promoted by international agencies the emphasis was in lending but, apart from this, no major difference was made between a trans-national transfer and a transfer advocated by international agencies.

Thus, educational transfer has been a very important theme in comparative education at least since the nineteenth century. As has been pointed out, Chubb and Moe have recently continued Jullien's position that stressed practical aims for comparative education. In addition – as will be shown in the next chapter of this thesis – this practical position has been followed by international agencies that, by promoting universal principles in education, have revitalised Jullien's universalistic goals. Meanwhile, Sadler and Ushinsky's position, in which educational transfer was problematised, has been followed lately by authors such as Cowen, Schriewer, Phillips and Steiner-Khamsi[117]. Overall, these authors stress that borrowed ideas or practices are resisted, modified or indigenised as they are implemented in the recipient country. In other words, these authors suggest that educational transfer is not an unproblematic process and, therefore, that the consequences of transfer are not predictable.

Alexander has a slightly different position to both Jullien and Salder. He says that it is important to have:

> a cautionary and revisionist perspective on the phenomenon of 'cultural borrowing', which comparativists since Sadler have universally condemned as unacceptable. *Cultural borrowing happens, it has always happened.* Few countries, if any, have remained hermetically sealed in

> the development of their systems of basic education, and the remarkable similarities which exist in respect of – for example – the primary curriculum are no coincidence. This is not to say that one should be sanguine when a government minister or adviser proposes transplanting a particular educational policy or practice as it stands from, say, Taiwan or Germany to London; rather that one's response should be tempered by historical and cultural awareness[118]. (emphasis added)

There is an historical confusion in Alexander's comment: as has been shown in this section Sadler's position has not been 'universally' followed by comparativists. Nevertheless, his 'realistic' point of view on educational transfer is a helpful way to move forward from the discussion on whether transfer is possible and desirable. Even if one accepts that educational transfer is not an unproblematic process, and imitations are never an exact copy of original ideas and practices, one should also accept that the movement of educational ideas and practices across international borders has happened and will probably continue to happen.

From a similar position, Steiner-Khamsi suggests "turning the normative, practice-oriented question "what can be learnt [from other educational systems]? into the descriptive, research-oriented question "what has been learnt?" [119]. Thus, she recommends that comparative education research should address questions such as "Why did transfer occur? How was transfer implemented? Who were the agents of transfer?"[120]. In other words, Steiner-Khamsi suggests that research in comparative education should concentrate on examining processes through which educational ideas and practices are 'transferred' from one educational context to another.

Phillips and Ochs have recently developed a model to analyse the process of policy borrowing in education. They suggest that the process of 'borrowing' (or educational transfer)[121] is divided into four stages: "cross-national attraction", and

"decision, implementation, and internalisation"[122]. As Phillips and Ochs develop their model, it becomes clear that they aim at providing a theoretical frame to understand processes through which a government of one country 'borrows' an educational idea or practice from another educational system. In principle (though as far as this thesis is aware they have not taken that step) their work is extendable to international agencies.

This thesis sketches one way of looking at that extension. The approach offered in this thesis implies the concept of 'international attraction' – in the sense that the proposals of international agencies exert a special form of 'cross-national attraction'. Probably, then, comparative education needs to take into account more complex notions of 'social space'.

In this sense, Cowen poses another challenge for the study of educational transfer in comparative education: "Given...the new complexities of social space in comparative education, we clearly have to revitalise our notions of transfer and its 'predictable consequences'".[123] In other words, Cowen points out that the world in which we live has changed, and consequently concepts of space should be reviewed[124] as the notion of 'transfer' used in comparative education is redefined.

It is suggested in this thesis that the increasing importance of international agencies as actors in the educational field should be considered within the new complexities of social space mentioned by Cowen. The world which comparative education tries to understand has changed, and there are also new theories and conceptual tools available in the social sciences, which comparative education could

(and sometimes can) use to 'read' this world. Amongst these conceptual tools, are the concepts of 'discourse' and 'recontextualization'[125] which – it will be suggested in the next section – could be helpful to further understand processes of educational transfer.

A theoretical approach to global educational discourse

This section will develop the theoretical frame that will be used throughout the thesis to try to understand processes through which international agencies influenced reforms of teacher education in Argentina and in Brazil in the 1990s. This theoretical frame will be based on Foucault's notion of 'discourse' and Bernstein's concept of 'recontextualization'.

The starting point for the analysis offered in this thesis is very simple: the increasing importance of international agencies as actors in the global educational field. Alongside other actors in the educational field – such as national states, provincial states, municipal authorities, institutions, and teachers – international agencies have increasingly established relations with these other actors. These relations, and the roles of international agencies, will be further explored in the next chapter, when the international organisations analysed in this thesis will be introduced.

What is important to stress at this point is that the distinctiveness of international agencies when compared with other actors in the educational field is that they do not act upon a particular educational context. They are abstracted from

educational practice, and this has some significant consequences. International agencies do not seek to solve context-specific educational problems. Rather, they seek to identify some universal educational principles that could be applied in most educational systems to 'improve' education[126].

It could be argued that in every educational transfer it is assumed that education (or at least some aspect of education) can be separated from its context. However, it is here suggested that when international agencies perform what they describe as one of their main roles – the circulation of cutting edge knowledge about education – this assumption is taken to its extreme.

As mentioned earlier, in trans-national patterns of educational transfer, after a problem was identified, an institution or educational practice that could solve this problem was sought in another educational context, but this institution or practice was attached to a given social reality. The earlier analysis suggested that those 'realities' are marked in the literature by what Sadler called the 'impalpable and spiritual force' that upholds an educational system; or in Lauwerys' words 'different attitudes and cultural histories'; or Hans' 'factors and traditions'. Thus, if the context within which the institution or educational practice operated was understood, this institution or practice could – in principle – be adapted to the new context and transferred. For some, like Sadler, the prospects of carrying out successfully such a task were meagre; for others, like Holmes, it all depended on whether the right (scientific) methods were used.

Nevertheless, the possibility of 'copying' existed if the context was

understood. The use of the word 'copying' is deliberate. Phillips notes that the term "borrowing" which is habitually employed in the literature is "linguistically infelicitous, since it clearly implies temporariness"[127]. He then presents a list of other terms that have been used: "reproduction", "appropriation", and "importing". Although he does not settle for any of these terms, and goes back to the use of 'borrowing', in that article he emphasises "Copying [which] would be a more accurate description of the process of utilising models and approaches observed in other contexts".[128]

However, as has been mentioned, international agencies do not act upon a particular educational context. Of course, the universal models of education that are promoted by international agencies are designed within a context (a number of offices mainly in Washington and Paris), but this is not a practice-bound context from which 'models and approaches' could be observed and then 'copied'. So, where do the educational models that the agencies promote come from? If – in theory – the contents of an educational model depend on its social context, what shapes the models promoted by the agencies?

It is argued in this thesis that international agencies base their universal models of education on a similar set of assumptions. Furthermore, it is argued that due to the similarity in the assumptions that underlie the educational proposals of the three international agencies that will be analysed (OECD, the World Bank, and UNESCO), it is possible and more precise to refer to a singular universal model of education that is promoted by these agencies, rather than to three separate models.

Thus, the first overall argument of this thesis is that due to the similar assumptions in the educational proposals of UNESCO, the World Bank, and OECD, these agencies are producing a 'global educational discourse' through the universal model of education that they promote.

This discourse is global in two ways. In the first place the discourse that is produced through the proposals of these international agencies is 'global' due to their spatial scope. UNESCO's proposals are aimed at the whole world. The recommendations of the World Bank's are aimed mainly to the "developing" countries, defined as those countries that are not members of the OECD[129]. Therefore, taking the work of these three agencies as a whole, looking for the underlying assumptions that are common to the educational vision of these three organisations, a 'global educational discourse' that has education in most of the world as its object can be identified.

In the second place, as will be shown in the next chapter, this discourse is global in the sense that it is a globalising discourse: a theory that in the name of some idea of what constitutes good education offers a universal model of education as a global strategy that could solve most educational problems in most local contexts.

The notion of discourse will be defined for the purpose of this thesis as a form of power that circulates in the social field[130], implicitly defining a set of rules that divide thinkable from unthinkable ideas and the kind of practices that can be implemented from those that cannot be practised.

Following Foucault, it can be said that discourses are composed of signs, but what they do is more than use those signs to designate things. Rather, discourses constitute the objects of which they speak[131]. It is through discourse that social production of meaning takes place. As Ball says, "Meanings ... arise not from language but from institutional practices, from power relations"[132].

Discourse affects (disrupts or maintains) power relations through the construction of meaning. Foucault suggests that knowledge is by "nature partial, oblique, and perspectival."[133] What is involved behind all knowledge is "a struggle for power. Political power is not absent from knowledge, it is woven together with it."[134] Thus, the kind of knowledge that is accepted as truth in a given society is the result of a 'battle':

> Truth is a thing of this world: it is produced only by multiple forms of constraint. And it induces regular effects of power. Each society has its regime of truth, its "general politics" of truth – that is, the types of discourse it accepts and makes function as true; the mechanisms and instances that enable one to distinguish true and false statements; the means by which each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth; the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true.[135]

Foucault refers to a battle about "the status of truth and the economic and political role it plays"[136]. The categories of classification, the names and words, which construct social reality as much as they express it, are the quintessential stake of this political struggle.[137] The way in which we view the world, the way in which we think and speak or write about the world affects the way in which we act upon it. It is at this point that discourse operates as a form of power that circulates in the social field.

Discourses are a "system of possibility for knowledge"[138]: by creating the possibility for certain meanings and interpretations of the world, they constrain the

possibility for other meanings and interpretations to arise. Thus, a discourse is constituted both by inclusions and by exclusions[139]. It is through this inclusion/exclusion process that discursive space is constructed.

Therefore, the study of discourse tries to understand why of all the things that could be said and done at a given time in a given context, only certain things are said and done[140].

Using this definition of discourse, it is suggested in this thesis that if and as global educational discourse moves into a given educational system it could contribute to the closure of discursive space, creating the conditions of possibility for certain meanings and interpretations of the world, while limiting the possibility for other meanings and interpretations to arise. In this way – it is argued – global educational discourse defines in educational systems to which it moves a set of implicit rules that divide thinkable from unthinkable ideas and the kind of policies that can be implemented from those that cannot be practised.

Thus, the second overall argument of this thesis is that 'global educational discourse' has influenced the educational reforms implemented in Argentina and in Brazil in the 1990s, defining a set of implicit rules that divide thinkable from unthinkable ideas and the kind of policies that can be practiced from those that cannot be practiced.

Nevertheless, following the contemporary literature about educational transfer[141] that will be further discussed in Chapter Four, this thesis also argues that

global educational discourse is not likely to move uncontested into a given educational system. When the discourse produced by international agencies is located in a specific educational context it does not move into a vacuum. Therefore, global educational discourse could be 'recontextualized' as interaction with available local discourses occurs.

The process of recontextualization will be defined for the purpose of this thesis as the transformations that take place as a discourse moves from one context to another. As Bernstein notes, every time a discourse moves it is transformed, it is not the same discourse any longer.[142] It is the moving between contexts, and thus the characteristics of the contexts that define these transformations[143].

In other words, discourses exist in relation with other discourses[144]. As Ball notes "in complex modern societies we are enmeshed in a variety of discordant, incoherent and contradictory discourses"[145]. Therefore, as a discourse moves from one context to another it meets other dominant discourses in the context of reception and, as it relates with these other discourses, the effects of the original discourse change.

As has been mentioned, discourse affects power relations through the social construction of meaning. Consequently, if and as global educational discourse moves into a given educational system, a certain meaning of, for example 'pedagogy', is offered. However, this meaning of 'pedagogy', which is offered, might be very different – or even opposed – to available meanings that were given to this concept in the context of reception. Recontextualization takes place as the meanings offered by

global educational discourse are re-interpreted within the principles of available discourses in the context of reception.

An example of this process can be seen in the recontextualization of the proposals of international agencies about curricular design in Argentina in the 1990s. Until the 1990s, in Argentina, curricula for primary and secondary education were designed in great detail by the National State, within an encyclopaedic and prescriptive curricular culture: the idea was that students should acquire a great amount of information through a large number of school subjects, and that curricular documents should prescribe in every detail what information teachers should transmit and how they should do it.[146] The Argentine curricular reform of the 1990s appropriated the principles of decentralisation, school autonomy and a curriculum based on competencies from the proposals of international agencies and re-defined those principles (and practices)[147].

This reform not only changed the contents of curricula – introducing the notion of competencies, but it was also aimed at redesigning the relationship between the National State, provincial states, teachers and contents[148]. The reform left curricular design in the hands of the provinces. However, Common Basic Contents (CBC) had to be designed at the national level and used as guidelines for provincial curricula. At the same time, provincial curricula were supposed to leave some space for schools and teachers to decide on actual contents according to the specificity of their contexts[149].

Thus, at the policy level there was a shift in the meaning that was given to the

concept of 'curriculum'. The definition of curriculum as a document that specified encyclopaedic contents, prescribing in great detail what and how teachers should teach was displaced. After the reform, the notion of 'curriculum' was understood in Argentine official rhetoric as a document that specified competencies, and as a document that should be used as a guideline, giving freedom to teachers to choose specific contents and teaching methods.

However, as these policies were translated into practice, this new concept of curriculum was re-interpreted within the dominant discourses available in the Argentine educational system. Gvirtz and Narodowski have shown that the National State defined so many 'basic' contents that it became almost impossible for schools or teachers to introduce other contents[150]. Once approved, the CBC were not sent to the provincial educational authorities, instead they were distributed directly to all schools in the country. When teachers received the CBC they used the documents as if they were a traditional curriculum, and followed them in every single detail.[151]

Although the proposals of international agencies influenced the meaning that was given to the notion of 'curriculum' in the new law of education (and in other policy documents), this concept was recontextualized within the principles of available discourses by those who had to put policy into practice: the specialists who designed the details of the curricular documents, the bureaucrats who sent them to schools, and schools and teachers. Recontextualization took place as the meanings offered in the discourse produced by international agencies were re-interpreted within the principles of available dominant discourses in Argentine education.

Therefore, the third overall argument of this thesis is that global educational discourse could be recontextualized differently as it moves into Argentina and Brazil, meeting different available discourses in each of these countries.

The arguments of this thesis will be explored by analysing the influence of global educational discourse produced by UNESCO, World Bank, and OECD on Argentine and Brazilian educational reforms in the 1990s, looking at how this discourse transformed (and was transformed by) local assumptions about what constitutes a good system of teacher education.

However, before moving into the empirical field, there is still a problem that needs to be solved: How could the movement and recontextualization of global educational discourse be identified operationally?

Bernstein notes that for a theory to be able to describe an empirical setting, a translation device that will provide the rules for the "unambiguous" recognition of what counts as empirical evidence is required[152]. When developing a translation device that would allow this thesis to identify – operationally – the movement and recontextualization of global educational discourse in the Argentine and Brazilian educational fields it is important to consider that discourse disrupts or maintains power relations through the social construction of meaning. Consequently, the process of recontextualization can be seen as an overlapping of discourses in which what is at stake is the construction of social meaning. It is in the construction of social meaning that the movement and recontextualization of global educational discourse can be identified.

Therefore, in order to explore the arguments that have been offered, this thesis will analyse and compare the meaning that was given to three concepts in global educational discourse, in dominant discourses in the historical trajectories of teacher education in Argentina and Brazil, and in current discourses about teacher education in these countries. These concepts are: 'pedagogic identity', 'pedagogic knowledge', and 'curricular control'.

For the purpose of this thesis the concept of 'pedagogic identity' refers to the message that is sent to teachers about their professional role. This message comes from the state, but also from the literature, from teacher training institutions, and from colleagues. It is not being suggested here that teachers – or other professions – *perform* a specific role in society, but rather that teacher trainees receive messages about the role that they *are expected to perform.*

The concept of 'pedagogic knowledge' refers to knowledge about the educational process itself, that is, about the process by which the contents are transmitted to students. The specific meaning that is given to the concept of pedagogic knowledge in a particular discourse will define the kind of specialised knowledge that teachers need to have – in principle – to be able to teach.

Finally, the concept of 'curricular control' refers to the relations that are promoted between teachers and curriculum contents. Thus, the meaning that is given to the concept of 'curricular control' in a certain discourse will define how much space is given to teachers to participate in the production and selection of the

contents that they have to transmit to the students.

The decision to use these three concepts as categories of analysis in this thesis was based on the assumption that every proposal for teacher education should include an explicit or implicit definition of 'pedagogic identity', 'pedagogic knowledge' and 'curricular control'. The meaning that is given to each of these concepts in a discourse about teacher education describes a relation. The meaning given to pedagogic identity describes the relation that is promoted between teachers and society at large; the meaning given to 'pedagogic knowledge' describes the expected relation between teachers and students; and the meaning given to the concept of 'curricular control' describes the relation that is promoted between teachers and curriculum contents.

These three relations are fundamental to understand how an ideal teacher is defined in a proposal for teacher education. Consequently, this thesis suggests that analysing how these three concepts are defined in a given discourse about teacher education should reveal the kind of ideal teacher that is promoted in that discourse.

Thus, these three categories – 'pedagogic identity', 'pedagogic knowledge', and 'curricular control'– will be used to frame the analysis of the proposals of international agencies for teacher education; to examine available discourses about teacher education in Argentina and Brazil; and to analyse the process by which global educational discourse moved into (and was recontextualized by) the Argentine and Brazilian contexts.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that educational transfer has been a very important theme in comparative education at least since the nineteenth century. Overall, there are two main positions towards educational transfer in the field of comparative education. One position, represented by Jullien or, recently, by Chubb and Moe, suggests that educational transfer is possible and desirable. From the other point of view, represented by Sadler and Ushinsky, educational transfer is neither desirable nor possible. This discussion is part of overall debates about whether the field of comparative education should stress practical aims or not.

Interpretations of transfer have been mostly centred on the relations between national states. When international agencies started to be included in the literature two perspectives developed. From the point of view of Noah and Eckstein, international agencies were seen as being in an advanced position in the fictional scale created by their belief in a linear progression towards a scientifically legitimated comparative education. As will be further explored in the next chapter, this view would be fundamental for the self-positioning of these agencies as institutions of scientific experts that can predict the future and plan universal models of education. Meanwhile, from the point of view of Carnoy, and Altbach and Kelly, international agencies were seen as an instrument of neo-colonialism and cultural imperialism, used by the 'Western powers' to maintain international inequalities and dependencies.

However, from both these perspectives the involvement of international

organisations in processes of educational transfer was not seen as being essentially different from processes of educational transfer from one educational system to another. The only variation introduced to the trans-national interpretation of educational transfer depended on who was considered to be the principal agent of the process: the borrower or the lender. In educational transfers promoted by international agencies the emphasis was in lending but, apart from this, no major difference was made between a trans-national transfer and a transfer advocated by international agencies.

Given the increasing importance of international agencies as actors in the educational field, this chapter has pointed to the value that concepts of 'discourse' and 'recontextualization' could have to analyse the process through which international agencies influence educational ideas and practices in different contexts.

Following Foucault, the concept of discourse has been defined for the purpose of this thesis as a form of power that circulates in the social field, implicitly defining a set of rules that divide thinkable from unthinkable ideas and the kind of practices that can be implemented from those that cannot be practised.

Following Bernstein, the concept of recontextualization has been defined in this thesis as the transformations that take place as a discourse moves from one context to another. It is the moving between contexts and, thus, the characteristics of the contexts, that define these transformations.

Using these concepts the following overall arguments have been stated:

- *The first overall argument of this thesis is that as UNESCO, the World Bank and OECD put forward their proposals they are producing a 'global educational discourse'.*

- *The second overall argument is that 'global educational discourse' has influenced the educational reforms implemented in Argentina and in Brazil in the 1990s, defining a set of implicit rules that divide thinkable form unthinkable ideas and the kind of policies that can be practiced from those that cannot be practiced.*

- *The third overall argument of this thesis is that global educational discourse could be recontextualized differently as it moves into Argentina and Brazil, meeting different available discourses in each of these countries.*

These arguments will be explored by analysing the influence of global educational discourse produced by UNESCO, World Bank, and OECD on Argentine and Brazilian educational reforms in the 1990s, looking at how this discourse transformed (and was transformed by) local assumptions about what constitutes a good system of teacher education.

Since discourses are a form of power that circulates in the social field, operating through the construction of social meaning, it is in the construction of social meaning that the movement and recontextualization of global educational discourse could be identified. Therefore, to explore the arguments that have been

offered, this thesis will analyse and compare the meaning that was given to three concepts in the proposals of international agencies, in dominant discourses in the historical trajectories of teacher education in Argentina and Brazil, and in current discourses about teacher education in these countries. These concepts are: 'pedagogic identity', 'pedagogic knowledge', and 'curricular control'.

Thus, this chapter has presented the theoretical approach that will be used in this thesis. In addition, the main concepts of this theoretical approach have been defined and used to restate the overall arguments of the thesis. In the next chapter this theoretical approach will be used to analyse a specific empirical site: the proposals of UNESCO, the World Bank, and OECD for teacher education between 1985 and 1996.

Endnotes

[1] Robert Cowen, "Sketches of a Future: Renegotiating the Unit Ideas of Comparative Education," in *Internationalisation: Comparing Educational Systems and Semantics*, ed. Marcelo Caruso and Heinz-Elmar Tenorth (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2002).
[2] Anthony Giddens, "Living in Post-Traditional Society," in *Reflexive Modernization: Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in Modern Social Order*, ed. Ulrich Beck, Anthony Giddens, and Scott Lash (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994), p. 96 and p. 107
[3] Ibid., p. 96
[4] Anthony Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity in association with Blackwell, 1990), p. 66-67
[5] Antonio Nóvoa and Tali Yariv-Maschal, "Comparative Research in Education: A Mode of Governance or a Historical Inquiry?," *Comparative Education* 39, no. 4 (2003).
[6] Michel Foucault, "Truth and Juridical Forms," in *Michel Foucault: Power. Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984*, ed. James Faubion (London: Penguin Books, 2000), p. 32.
[7] Thomas S. Popkewitz, "Globalization/Regionalization, Knowledge, and the Educational Practices: Some Notes on Comparative Strategies for Educational Research," in *Educational Knowledge: Changing Relationships between the State, Civil Society, and the Educational Community*, ed. Thomas S. Popkewitz (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000).
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[9] Stewart Fraser, *Jullien's Plan for Comparative Education 1816-1817* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1964), pp. 50-82.
[10] Ibid., p. 37.
[11] Ibid., p. 46.
[12] Ibid., p. 36.
[13] Ibid., p. 37.
[14] Ibid., p. 36.
[15] Ibid., p. 37.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid., p. 40.
[18] Jean-Francois Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), p. 72.
[19] Harold Noah and Max Eckstein, *Toward a Science of Comparative Education* (London: Macmillan, 1969), p. 16.
[20] Ibid., pp.15-33.
[21] Brian Holmes, *Comparative Education: Some Consideration of Method* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1981), p. 19.
[22] The belief in linear notions of progress will be defined for the purpose of this thesis as the belief that humanity has advanced in the past – starting from an initial situation of primitivism – and that it will continue to advance in the future. Thus, this belief includes the idea that human beings (and societies) have an intrinsic tendency to pass through a series of phases of development. Even though there might be some regressions and decelerations, the latest phases are believed to be always superior to the initial phases. In this way, the passage from the 'inferior' to the 'superior' stages of development is given the status of a natural law. This idea is inseparable from the idea that time flows linearly and that therefore progress can be represented graphically in a line. Robert Nisbet, *Historia De La Idea De Progreso [History of the Idea of Progress]* (Barcelona: GEDISA, 1981).
[23] Horace Mann, *Seventh Annual Report of the Board of Education; together with the Seventh Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board.* Cited in Noah and Eckstein, *Toward a Science of Comparative Education*, pp. 17-18.
[24] Ibid., p. 44.
[25] Levasseur cited in Ibid.
[26] Lewis Spolton, "Kay-Shuttleworth - Quantitative Comparative Educator", *Comparative Education Review* 12, no. 1 (1968).
[27] Victor Cousin, *Report on the State of Instruction in Prussia*, 2nd Edition ed. (London: Effingham Wilson, 1836), p. 327.
[28] Noah and Eckstein, *Toward a Science of Comparative Education*, pp. 16-17.

[29] Ibid., p. 17; Holmes, *Comparative Education: Some Consideration of Method*, p. 22.
[30] Holmes, *Comparative Education: Some Consideration of Method*, p. 23.
[31] Tolstoy cited in Nicholas Hans, *The Russian Tradition in Education* (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1963), p. 92.
[32] Ibid., p. 93
[33] Noah and Eckstein, *Toward a Science of Comparative Education*, p. 20.
[34] Horace Mann, "A Preliminary and Critical Account of European Education (1843)", in *A History of International and Comparative Education: Nineteenth-Century Documents*, ed. Stewart Fraser and William W. Brickman (Glenview, Illinois: Scott Foresman, 1968), p. 168.
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[36] Ibid., p. 170.
[37] Alexander Dallas Bache, "European Primary Schools: Notes and Educational Comparisons (1836)", in *A History of International and Comparative Education: Nineteenth-Century Documents*, ed. Stewart Fraser and William W. Brickman (Glenview, Illinois: Scott Foresman, 1968), p. 124.
[38] Noah and Eckstein, *Toward a Science of Comparative Education*, p. 23.
[39] Cousin, *Report on the State of Instruction in Prussia*, p. 293.
[40] Noah and Eckstein, *Toward a Science of Comparative Education*, p. 23.
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[45] John Chubb and Terry Moe, *A Lesson in School Reform from Great Britain* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1992).
[46] Ibid., p. v.
[47] Ibid., p. 50.
[48] A. I. Piskunov and E. D. Dneprov, "K. D. Ushinsky - the Great Russian Educator of the 19th Century," in *K. D. Ushinsky: Selected Works*, ed. A. I. Piskunov (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1975), pp. 11-13.
[49] K. D. Ushinsky, "On National Character of Public Education", in *K. D. Ushinsky: Selected Works*, ed. A. I. Piskunov (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1975).
[50] Ibid., p. 205.
[51] Ibid., p. 186.
[52] Ibid., p. 187.
[53] Michael Sadler, "How Far Can We Learn Anything of Practical Value Form the Study of Foreign Systems of Education? Address Given at the Guildford Educational Conference on Saturday 20 October 1900", in *Selections from Michael Sadler: Studies in World Citizenship*, ed. J. H. Higginson (Liverpool: Dejall & Meyorre, 1979).
[54] Ibid., p. 49.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Michael Sadler, "Impressions of American Education. Read at the Annual Congress of the Educational Institute, 30th December 1902", in *Selections from Michael Sadler: Studies in World Citizenship*, ed. J. H. Higginson (Liverpool: Dejall & Meyorre, 1979), p. 53.
[61] Michael Sadler, "French Influences in English Education. Lecture Delivered at the University of London, 1906", in *Selections from Michael Sadler: Studies in World Citizenship*, ed. J. H. Higginson (Liverpool: Dejall & Meyorre, 1979).
[62] Sadler, "How Far Can We Learn Anything of Practical Value Form the Study of Foreign Systems of Education? Address Given at the Guildford Educational Conference on Saturday 20 October 1900", p. 50.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Ibid.
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[66] Ibid.
[67] Ibid., p. 51.
[68] Joseph Lauwerys, "Opening Address" (paper presented at The Comparative Education Society in Europe: General Education in a Changing World, Berlin, 1965), p. 8.
[69] Ibid., p. 9.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Ibid., p. 8.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Ibid., p. 22.
[74] Nicholas Hans, *Comparative Education: A Study of Educational Factors and Traditions* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Limited, 1949).
[75] Ibid., p. 10.
[76] Ibid., p. 11.
[77] Nicholas Hans, "Exportation of Educational Ideas", *Journal of Educational Sociology* 29, no. 5 (1956), p. 274.
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[81] Ibid.
[82] Martin Carnoy, *Education as Cultural Imperialism* (New York and London: Longman, 1974).
[83] Brian Holmes, *Problems in Education: A Comparative Approach* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1965), p. 47.
[84] Holmes, *Comparative Education: Some Consideration of Method*, p. 33 and pp. 46-48.
[85] Holmes, *Problems in Education: A Comparative Approach*, p. 34.
[86] "Modern concepts of science suggest that the logical deduction of outcomes (consequences) from suggested solutions (policies) is possible only if the specific circumstances in which the solution is to be introduced are known. Consequently...identifying all the factors or determinants which influence the outcomes of a given policy is crucial to the process of social planning...The number of such possible variables...is large, and associated with the task of identifying them is that of reducing them to manageable proportions...the problem itself determines what degree of importance should be attached to each of the identified contextual factors. In practice, some kind of reduction is based upon a selection of factors using directing problems and hypotheses...When such very dissimilar but not unrelated factors have been selected as relevant...the relative force with which they will act should be assessed and, ideally, expressed mathematically." (Ibid., pp. 40-42). Therefore, for Holmes, the purpose of analysing the 'contextual factors' that influence education was not to undertake an analytical study of 'factors' from a historical perspective (as in Hans), but rather to predict 'mathematically' the outcomes of a given policy.
[87] Ibid., p. 42.
[88] Ibid., p. 93.
[89] Ibid., p. 44.
[90] Ibid.; Holmes, *Comparative Education: Some Consideration of Method*, p. 33 and pp. 46-48.
[91] Holmes was critical of the work of planners who – he argued – presented their work as a "valid panacea", and "frequently disguise or ignore the fact that decisions are politicised and ideology informs most of them" (p. 36). However, it seems as though this was not a critique of planning itself, since in the same text Holmes had previously suggested that refining the techniques for planning was one of his major objectives: "We need, as Harris said, theories with predictive value if we are to plan education. The successful planning of educational development depends upon the care with which we refine techniques and models to describe local needs and conditions and to formulate generalisations from which predictions can be made." Holmes, *Comparative Education: Some Consideration of Method*, p. 34.
[92] Holmes, *Problems in Education: A Comparative Approach*, p. 92.
[93] Ibid.
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[101] Robert Cowen, "Comparing Futures or Comparing Pasts?", *Comparative Education* 36, no. 3 (2000), p. 334.
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[103] Ibid., p. 81.
[104] Ibid., p. 82.
[105] Ibid., p. 38.
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[107] Ibid., pp. 51-58.
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[110] Ibid., p. 14.
[111] Ibid., p. 140.
[112] Ibid., p. 100.
[113] Carnoy, *Education as Cultural Imperialism*, p. 16.
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[115] Altbach and Kelly, *Education and Colonialism*, p. 37; Carnoy, *Education as Cultural Imperialism*, pp. 332-34.
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[117] Robert Cowen, "Schools and Selected Aspects of Culture from the Perspective of Comparative Education: Neither a Borrower nor a Lender Be", in *International Perspectives on Culture and Schooling: A Symposium Proceedings*, ed. Elwyn Thomas (London: Department of International and Comparative Education, Institute of Education, University of London, 1994); Robert Cowen, "Sketches of a Future: Renegotiating the Unit Ideas of Comparative Education", in *Internationalisation: Comparing Educational Systems and Semantics*, ed. Marcelo Caruso and Heinz-Elmar Tenorth (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2002); David Phillips and Kimberly Ochs, "Processes of Policy Borrowing in Education: Some Explanatory and Analytical Devices", *Comparative Education* 39, no. 4 (2003); Jurgen Schriewer, "The Method of Comparison and the Need for Externalization: Methodological Criteria and Sociological Concepts", in *Theories and Methods in Comparative Education*, ed. Jurgen Schriewer and Brian Holmes (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1992); Jurgen Schriewer, "Comparative Education Methodology in Transition: Towards a Science of Complexity?", in *Discourse Formation in Comparative Education*, ed. Jurgen Schriewer (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2000); Jurgen Schriewer, "World System and Interrelationship Networks: The Internationalization of Education and the Role of Comparative Inquiry", in *Educational Knowledge: Changing Relationships between the State, Civil Society, and the Educational Community*, ed. Thomas S. Popkewitz (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000); Gita Steiner-Khamsi, "Transferring Education, Displacing Reforms," in *Discourse Formation in Comparative Education*, ed. Jurgen Schriewer (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2000); Gita Steiner-Khamsi, "Educational Borrowing as a Policy Strategy", in *Internationalisation: Comparing Educational Systems and Semantics*, ed. Marcelo Caruso and Heinz-Elmar Tenorth (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2002).
[118] Robin Alexander, *Culture and Pedagogy: International Comparisons in Primary Education* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2000), p. 172.
[119] Steiner-Khamsi, "Transferring Education, Displacing Reforms", p. 171.
[120] Ibid., p. 170
[121] The authors use the concept of 'borrowing'. However, they note that the "term 'borrowing' has of course been criticised, with commentators at different times preferring alternative descriptors including 'copying', 'appropriation', 'assimilation', 'transfer', 'importation', etc. But for the purpose of this present paper we shall bypass that debate and use 'borrowing' to cover the whole range of issues relating to how the foreign example is used by policy makers at all stages of the process of initiating and implementing educational change" (p. 451). Phillips and Ochs, "Processes of Policy Borrowing in Education: Some Explanatory and Analytical Devices."
[122] Ibid., p. 451
[123] Cowen, "Sketches of a Future: Renegotiating the Unit Ideas of Comparative Education", p. 277.
[124] For a re-conceptualization of concepts of space see Manuel Castells, *The Rise of the Network Society*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000). For a specific analysis of relations between new concepts of space and education see António Nóvoa and Martin Lawn, eds., *Fabricating Europe: The Formation of an Educational Space* (Dordrecht/ Boston/ London: Kluwer Academic Publishers,

2002); Nóvoa and Yariv-Maschal, "Comparative Research in Education: A Mode of Governance or a Historical Inquiry?,"

[125] The concept of discourse has been used in comparative education by authors such as Schriewer, Popkewitz and Steiner-Khamsi (who has also used the concept of recontextualization). Thomas S. Popkewitz, "Globalization/Regionalization, Knowledge, and the Educational Practices: Some Notes on Comparative Strategies for Educational Research,"; Thomas S. Popkewitz, "National Imaginaries, the Indigenous Foreigner, and Power: Comparative Educational Research," in *Discourse Formation in Comparative Education*, ed. Jurgen Schriewer (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2000); Schriewer, "Comparative Education Methodology in Transition: Towards a Science of Complexity?", Schriewer, "World System and Interrelationship Networks: The Internationalization of Education and the Role of Comparative Inquiry."; Steiner-Khamsi, "Transferring Education, Displacing Reforms."

[126] UNESCO, *Medium-Term Strategy 1996-2001* (Paris: UNESCO, 1996), p. 11; Papadopoulos, *Education 1960-1990: The OECD Perspective*, p. 14; World Bank, *Priorities and Strategies for Education: A World Bank Sector Review* (Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 1995), p. 89.

[127] David Phillips, "Learning from Elsewhere in Education: Some Perennial Problems Revisited with Reference to British Interest in Germany", *Comparative Education* 36, no. 3 (2000).

[128] Ibid.

[129] The World Bank divides the world into two types of countries: developed and developing. This concept of space is defined in terms of the wealth of nations, thus "low – and middle – income countries" coincide with "developing countries", in contrast to countries that are members of the OECD and, thus, are high income and "developed" countries. Since the work of the Bank is oriented towards the development of the "developing" countries, these are also referred to as "client countries". Marlaine E. Lockheed, *Improving Primary Education in Developing Countries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for World Bank, 1992), p. 63; World Bank, *Priorities and Strategies for Education: A World Bank Sector Review*, pp. xii - xv

[130] Ingolfur Asgeir Johannesson, "Genealogy and Progressive Politics: Reflections on the Notion of Usefulness", in *Foucault's Challenge: Discourse, Knowledge, and Power in Education*, ed. Thomas S. Popkewitz and Marie Brennan (New York: Teacher's College, Columbia University, 1998), p. 305.

[131] Michel Foucault, *The Archeology of Knowledge* (London: Tavistock, 1974), p. 49.

[132] Stephen Ball, "Introducing Monsieur Foucault", in *Foucault and Education: Disciplines and Knowledge*, ed. Stephen Ball (London: Routledge, 1990), p. 2.

[133] Michel Foucault, "Truth and Juridical Forms,", p. 15.

[134] Ibid., p. 32.

[135] Michel Foucault, "Truth and Power," in *Michel Foucault: Power. Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984*, ed. James Faubion (London: Penguin Books, 2000), p. 131.

[136] Ibid., p. 132.

[137] Pierre Bourdieu, "Social Space and Symbolic Power", *Sociological Theory* 7, no. 1 (1989), pp. 20-34.

[138] Stephen Ball, "Management as a Moral Technology: A Luddite Analysis", in *Foucault and Education: Disciplines and Knowledge*, ed. Stephen Ball (London: Routledge, 1990), p. 157.

[139] Michel Foucault, *La Arqueología Del Saber* (Mexico & Madrid: Siglo venitinuo editores, 1999), pp. 44-45; Ball, "Management as a Moral Technology: A Luddite Analysis," p. 2.

[140] Foucault, *La Arqueología Del Saber*, p. 44.; Michel Foucault, "Politics and the Study of Discourse," *Ideology and Consciousness*, no. 3 (1978), p. 14.

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[142] Basil Bernstein, *Pedagogy, Symbolic Control and Identity: Theory, Research, Critique* (London: Taylor & Francis, 1996), p. 47.

[143] Andrew J. Brown, "The Rhetoric and Practice of Primary Mathematics Teaching and the National Curriculum," in *The National Curriculum and the Primary School: Springboard or Straightjacket?*, ed. J. Riley (London: Kogan Page, 1992).

[144] Foucault, "Politics and the Study of Discourse," p. 13
[145] Stephen Ball, "What Is Policy? Texts, Trajectories and Toolboxes," in *Sociology of Education: Major Themes Vol IV*, ed. Stephen Ball (London: Routledge Falmer, 2000), p. 1837.
[146] Silvina Gvirtz and Mariano Narodowski, "Educational Reform in Argentina: Past, Present and Future Tendencies", in *Contemporary Educational Issues in the Americas*, ed. Colin Brock (Wallingford, England: Symposium Books, forthcoming).
[147] See Chapter Three in this thesis for an analysis of the proposals of international agencies (including these concepts). See also Argentina, *Ley Federal De Educación [Federal Law of Education], No. 24,195* (1993) and Chapter Five in this thesis for the appropriation of these concepts in Argentina.
[148] Ibid., p. 53.
[149] Gvirtz and Narodowski, "Educational Reform in Argentina: Past, Present and Future Tendencies".
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Chapter 3

Global educational discourse: UNESCO, the World Bank, OECD, and their universal model for teacher education

This chapter analyses the educational proposals of UNESCO, the World Bank, and OECD between 1985 and 1996, searching for the kind of knowledge about education (and especially teacher education) that was promoted by these agencies in that period. First, the three international agencies that are being analysed in this thesis will be introduced by presenting the principles that were used to select UNESCO, the World Bank, and OECD for the present study. Then, the overall educational proposals of UNESCO, the World Bank and OECD will be analysed. Finally, this chapter will examine the proposals of these agencies for teacher education.

In order to examine the proposals of UNESCO, the World Bank and OECD this chapter analyses the written texts about educational reform and teacher education that were published by these organisations between 1985 and 1996. However, it is important to point out that the texts that put forward recommendations for specific countries or regions were discarded. The decision to select only those texts that referred to education (and teacher education) without specifying context was made because the aim of this chapter is to assess whether a global educational discourse – that has education in most of the world as its object – can be identified in the work of these organisations.

The first argument of this chapter is that as UNESCO, the World Bank, and OECD construct their universal models of education they are producing a global

educational discourse, which is manifest in the similar assumptions that underlie the proposals for education of these three agencies. The second argument is that due to the similar assumptions in the work of these three organisations it is possible to identify within their proposals a single universal model of teacher education, rather than three different models.

The chapter is divided into three sections. The first one explains the rationale that was used to select UNESCO, the World Bank and OECD for the analysis offered in this thesis. The second section examines the overall educational proposals of UNESCO, the World Bank and OECD, assessing whether similar assumptions can be identified in their works. Finally, the third section will analyse the recommendations for teacher education in the work of these three agencies, examining whether a single universal model of teacher education can be identified in their proposals.

UNESCO, the World Bank, and OECD: different perspectives in education?

The decision to select these agencies for this investigation was based on three principles. In the first place, their spatial scope was considered. In other words, at which parts of the world are their proposals aimed? The second principle of selection is based on the active role that these agencies have in the 'transfer' of educational knowledge. Finally, the third rationale for the selection of these agencies is that they can be seen as having very different perspectives towards education.

The three agencies being analysed were created for the reconstruction of

Europe after the Second World War[1]. As this function become redundant, the work of these agencies has been aimed at the 'development' of the world[2]. Each has its specific scope: the whole world for UNESCO[3], mainly (economically) rich countries for OECD[4] and poor countries for the World Bank[5]. Thus, taken as a whole, the proposals of these three agencies are aimed at almost all educational contexts in the world.

The 'transfer' of educational knowledge is currently considered to be one of the main roles of UNESCO, the World Bank and OECD. Since its first loan for education in 1963, the World Bank has become the largest single source of external financing for education in "developing countries"[6]. However, the Bank acknowledges that its funding still represents only 0.5% of "developing countries'" total spending in education. "Thus, the World Bank's main contribution must be advice"[7]. This coincides with a new vision that the Bank has of its own role:

> to become a Knowledge Bank that spurs the knowledge revolution in developing countries and acts as a global catalyst for creating, sharing, and applying the cutting-edge knowledge necessary for poverty reduction and economic development.[8]

Even though the World Bank expressly embarked in this new vision in 1996, this declaration is rather the recognition of a previous shift in the Bank's roles. The *World Bank Review: Priorities and Strategies for Education* includes amongst its references more than 30 educational texts published by the World Bank before 1996[9].

However, it is not only through publications that the World Bank acts as a 'global catalyst' of knowledge. The Bank's lending programmes "encourage governments to give a higher priority" to certain reforms, or to primary rather than

higher education[10]. "Bank-supported projects ... pay greater attention" to particular principles,[11] and they support the involvement in certain practices through emphasis on specific policies[12].

Thus, when the World Bank declares that its fundamental objective in education is "helping borrowers reduce poverty and improve living standards..."[13], the use of the word 'borrowers' here does not only imply the borrowing of funds. Rather, the word 'borrowers' in this statement should also be seen as it has traditionally been used in comparative education: as referring to the borrowing of (particular) ideas. That is, when 'client countries' receive a loan for educational purposes from the World Bank, this act is not only a transfer of funds, but it is also an educational transfer. Together with financial resources, the 'client country' receives a particular vision of education.

The 'transfer' of educational knowledge has always been at the centre of UNESCO's agenda[14]. As an "organization for intellectual co-operation", UNESCO does not have a function of "direct control". Instead, it "creates a favourable environment, puts forward ideas, transfers knowledge...and, whenever possible, resources".[15]

This 'transfer' of educational ideas is carried out through several roles that the organisation performs. As an "intellectual forum" UNESCO fulfils its role as a "laboratory of ideas" and formulates "innovative strategies to meet emerging challenges"[16]. In addition, UNESCO performs a role in "co-operation for development" through "policy and strategy formulation, programme development,

feasibility studies and project evaluation".[17] This last function, "providing expertise and advice" is considered to be the most important, and where the Organisation should "concentrate its efforts"[18].

It should also be noted that the ultimate objective of these roles is to "contribute to the progressive forging of a *universal vision* reflecting, and drawing benefit from, the sum of differences"[19].

Similarly, one of the main objectives of OECD is to search for certain universal values, rules and policies and promote them amongst member and non-member countries. However, the OECD has no prescriptive mandate over its member countries[20]. Neither does its 'contribution' to "national developments" derive so much from the generation of new ideas, but rather from exercising a "catalytic and integrative function"[21]. As part of this role, the OECD "helps policy-makers adopt strategic orientations" "by deciphering emerging issues and identifying policies that work"[22]. In addition, OECD produces "internationally agreed instruments, decisions and recommendations to promote rules of the game" in certain areas.[23]

Education is not specifically mentioned as one of the concerns and purposes of the Organisation in the OECD Convention[24]. However, the "recognition of the social dimensions and purposes of economic growth" and the "awareness of the importance of human capital" have brought education into the central objectives and mainstream activities of the OECD.[25]

Thus, the 'transfer' of 'cutting edge' educational knowledge is one of the

main self-proclaimed roles of UNESCO, the World Bank and OECD. However, there is a significant difference in the way that the World Bank 'promotes' its ideas when compared with the other two agencies. UNESCO and OECD do not have a prescriptive role and cannot impose their proposals. Rather these agencies rely on their international reputation to encourage countries to adopt their proposals. In the case of the World Bank, although it does not have the formal power to impose its ideas, the Bank's proposals have an extra attractiveness: they are tied to financial resources.

Finally, the last rationale used to select UNESCO, the World Bank, and OECD is that they can be seen as having very different perspectives towards education. This point will be illustrated by analysing the specific views of each of these agencies on teachers and their profession.

The particularity of the educational vision of the World Bank, when compared with the other agencies being analysed, is its strong emphasis on economic issues. From this perspective, educational reform should be oriented towards keeping pace with "economic structures".[26] Thus, the first of the two key priorities for education is to "meet economies' growing demands for adaptable workers..."[27]; and East Asian countries are often used as "outstanding examples of what can be achieved when the education system is reformed along with the economic system".[28]

Economic inequalities amongst countries are seen in the Bank's work as a direct consequence of educational disparities. "For example, if in 1960 the Republic of Korea had had the same low school enrollment rate as Pakistan, its GDP per capita

by 1985 would have been 40 percent lower than it actually was".[29]

The World Bank's perspective is strongly based on human capital theory, a theory that – it is claimed – "has no genuine rival of equal breadth and rigor"[30]. The kind of analyses conducted (or published) by the Bank, that help to construct its position in education, are generally based on measurements of social rates of return to investment in education. Although the Bank acknowledges that these rates are sometimes difficult to measure, they also note that this kind of analysis has "withstood the tests of more than three decades of careful scrutiny".[31]

As a consequence of the Bank's emphasis on economic matters, most analyses are made in terms of 'effectiveness', defined as cost-effectiveness. For example blackboards, chalk and textbooks are considered to be the "most effective *instructional materials*"[32]. Similarly, group work is seen as a promising teaching technique for "developing countries" because it is "known to be cost-effective".[33]

This perspective is also used to evaluate teachers and their profession. The World Bank acknowledges that there has been a decline in real wages of teachers and that this affects the motivation, attendance and performance of teachers.[34] Consequently, "organizational devices that motivate teachers to become more professional are urgently needed".[35] The Bank's proposals also suggest that the status of teachers should be upgraded because that would give governments the possibility for hiring more competent teachers[36]. This should be done by giving the teaching profession more attention: emphasising "the intrinsic benefits of serving society and growing professionally" could increase public awareness of the

importance of teachers at "very little cost".[37]

In this context, the World Bank advocates increasing the general education pre-requisites for recruiting new teachers but without increasing salaries, decelerating the rate of salary increase in the first years (to motivate teachers to stay in the job longer), and rewarding teachers according to their performance, as well as qualifications and experience.[38] As an option, for countries that cannot separate the salary scale of teachers from that of the civil servants, governments should recruit "less well educated (but more affordable) teachers".[39] These countries will then have to invest in different strategies, such as interactive radio instruction, programmed learning, and distance education, to improve the skills of in-service teachers[40]. The World Bank also advocates the use of supplemental instructional media that "substitutes for the teacher"[41] and provides highly effective teaching: "Instructional media typically pay more attention to the correct order and pacing of instruction than does a teacher"[42].

In addition, the World Bank promotes increasing student-teacher ratios as a policy that can improve education by permitting economic resources to be allocated in other critical inputs (rather than in teacher salaries).[43] Reducing class size to fewer than forty students is considered to be ineffective and "prohibitively expensive".[44]

It is not surprising that within this perspective, which promotes reducing the resources spent on teachers, the World Bank sees teachers' unions as an obstacle for 'positive' change. Furthermore:

> Prevailing systems of education expenditure and management often protect the interests of teachers' unions, university students, the elite,

> and the central government at the expense of parents, communities, and the poor...Because educational finance and management are typically the responsibility of central government, teachers' unions are important actors on the national political stage...When governments fail to reach agreement with strong central unions over conditions of employment for teachers, collective action can disrupt education and sometimes lead to political paralysis...[45]

Thus, teachers' unions should be weakened and this is one of the 'benefits' that decentralising educational financing and management can entail.

Although teacher participation in the national political stage is seen as negative, the World Bank suggests that teacher involvement in decision making in schools should be improved.[46] However, in order to improve learning, teacher participation should be explicitly focused on instruction.[47] This focus requires some external influence and direction to avoid "teachers' energies" being diverted to other areas. "The best external direction for focusing teachers on instruction is a national or regional curriculum"[48].

UNESCO has a very different concept of development when compared with the World Bank. The vision that equates human development to human resource development is criticised in UNESCO[49]. Human beings should not be seen as merely the means of production and material prosperity:

> It is simply a matter of regarding human beings not as instruments, means to the attainment of economic objectives, but as ends in themselves, the economic objectives being subordinated to their self-fulfilment and well-being.[50]

UNESCO's is a humanist perspective, in which the human being is at the very heart of development. From this point of view, education should be directed to "the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; ...it shall promote understanding, tolerance and

friendship among all nations, all racial or religious groups"[51].

It is here suggested that in UNESCO's view teachers are seen as 'heroes'. This agency stresses that the importance of the role of teachers "has never been more obvious than today"[52]. Teachers can "awaken curiosity, stimulate independence ...and create the conditions for success in formal and continuing education".[53] Furthermore, the work of teachers as intellectual mentors pervades all of an individual's life:

> Is there anyone who, when having at some point in their lives had major decisions to take, was not at least to some extent influenced by what they learned under the guidance of a teacher?[54]

This perception of teachers is opposed to the World Bank's, and consequently the Bank's rhetoric is many times criticised in UNESCO for making teachers the "villains"[55] of the difficulties faced by countries to reduce educational costs[56]. However, this does not mean that UNESCO completely approves of those currently teaching. Improving the quality and motivation of teachers is still advocated as a priority for all countries[57]. Nevertheless, responding to its humanist perspective, UNESCO's strategies to attain such an objective are very different from the World Bank's.[58]

UNESCO also notes that the working conditions of teachers have deteriorated. However, this is seen as happening not only because of the shortage of economic resources, salary reductions and the lack of adequate materials, but also because of the overcrowding of classrooms.[59]

UNESCO strongly advocates the participation of teachers' organisations in

planning and implementing educational reform. These organisations can many times have a "deep knowledge and experience of almost every aspect of the educational process, including the training of teachers", and they are in many countries "essential participants in the dialogue between school and society"[60]. At the same time, the dialogue between unions and educational authorities should be promoted, since "no reform has succeeded against teachers or without their participation".[61] Along these lines, UNESCO also advocates involving teachers in a huge range of educational matters, such as designing syllabuses and teaching materials, school management, school inspection and teacher evaluation.[62]

In between UNESCO's humanist perspective and the World Bank's emphasis on economic issues lies the educational position of OECD. Papadopoulos suggests that although economic concerns have dominated OECD's work, this dominance is "tempered by recognition of the social dimension and purposes of economic growth and development"[63]. Thus, OECD has an "inferred role for education, both for the contribution it can make to economic growth and as means by which the purposes of such growth, namely an increase in well-being, can be given reality"[64].

Following this vision about education, OECD's perception of teachers and their profession is intermediate. The work of OECD stresses that the position, motivation and competence of the teaching force is at the "spotlight of educational debate and policy"[65]. In times of increased pursuit for quality in education it is important to be aware that competent and motivated teachers are the most necessary ingredient for quality education.[66] However, OECD points out that the opposite conclusion cannot be drawn – "that teachers are to blame if and when

disappointments arise about educational performance"[67]. Teachers should be given much responsibility, but they cannot be held solely accountable.[68]

For the OECD, very high demands are being made on the "modern teacher", and these demands will increase in the future. The question is whether these demands are being coupled by "sufficient recognition and reward"[69]. Based on data from some of its member countries, OECD asserts that salaries in the teaching profession have been reduced when compared with "competing occupations". Teaching needs to become financially more attractive so as to bring the most talented into teaching. Consequently, starting salaries must be set high enough to attract young graduates into teaching. However, care should be taken when rewarding the "able teacher" with "tangible pay increase": "How beneficial is it...if the maximum is soon attained and the only alternative for improvement is promotion out of the classroom?"[70]

Concerning "pay for merit", the OECD emphasises the need for sensitivity in the language and terminology being used. The Organisation also suggests that issues of how "merit" is assessed have to be considered. Finally, OECD recommends that if such a mechanism is used as an incentive to improve quality and motivation it is fundamental that the system is acceptable to those for whom it is intended: the teachers.[71]

OECD has a similar position in regards to class size and pupil/teacher ratios. Overall the fall in class size is seen as a positive "trend", an improvement over the "clearly under-staffed systems of the immediate post-war years"[72]. However, a careful analysis of the benefits of smaller pupil/teacher ratios is suggested. "It is not

to be assumed that continually falling pupil/teacher ratios must always be sought once reasonable class sizes are assured when there are so many other claims on educational resources"[73].

The studies of OECD recommend more involvement of teachers in decision-making, but at the same time that teachers should be made accountable for educational results.[74] For example, it is suggested that assessments and appraisals should include all teachers, but teachers who are being appraised should be involved in the designing of the scheme rather than have it imposed upon them.[75] Similarly, OECD advocates the development of bureaucratic procedures for "retraining and ultimately dismissal"[76] of weak teachers "who are clearly failing their students and colleagues"[77]. However, these mechanisms should be acceptable "to the profession as a whole".[78]

In relation to the role of teachers' unions, once again, OECD has an intermediate position. OECD notes that the "locus of teachers' negotiations" has been affected by changes in terms of the decentralisation or centralisation of decision-making in education. These new management and decision-making structures should be "scrutinised to ascertain how far they promote the involvement of all "actors" concerned".[79] However, at the same time, teachers and their representatives should acknowledge that the political context in which they work has been altered "irrevocably" and that they cannot avoid some "new conditions" like more expectations on the side of the parents, more community involvement in the school (and in classrooms) and demands for efficient use of resources. These new conditions imply more regular evaluations of schools and of the work of teachers[80].

Thus, in the World Bank's perspective, teachers – and especially teacher unions – are seen as 'villains' in that by constraining the possibility of educational change they only defend their sectoral interests as opposed to the interests of the community. In UNESCO's humanist perspective, instead, teachers are 'heroes'. They are the most important agents in the educational process and therefore they must be given significant participation in the design of educational reforms. OECD has an intermediate position. Although mainly concerned with economic issues, and therefore proposing a limit in the improvement of teachers' conditions, OECD also understands that the demands that are made on teachers need to be limited. Similarly, OECD is in favour of teacher unions' participation in decision-making, but with certain limitations.

This section has shown that the 'transfer' of educational knowledge is considered by OECD, the World Bank and UNESCO to be a fundamental part of their work. In addition, what unites the work of these three agencies is that they all seek to promote certain universal values, ideas and practices that can be applied in most contexts to 'improve' education. However, the kind of ideas that these agencies promote can be seen as departing from very different – sometimes even opposed – perspectives towards education. Foucault provides some hints on how to deal with these differences:

> If one wishes to undertake an archaeological analysis of knowledge itself, it is not these celebrated controversies that ought to be used as the guidelines and articulations of such a project. One must reconstitute the general system of thought whose network, in its positivity, renders an interplay of simultaneous and apparently contradictory opinions possible. It is this network that defines the conditions that make a controversy or problem possible...[81]

Thus, the next section will analyse the educational proposals of these three agencies looking for the underlying assumptions that are common to them. It will be argued that this could reveal a general system of thought that makes the simultaneous and apparently contradictory opinions of UNESCO, the World Bank, and OECD possible.

UNESCO, the World Bank and OECD: a universal model of education?

This section suggests that similar assumptions underlie the proposals for education of UNESCO, the World Bank and OECD. The first of these assumptions is that the future will present a 'forever rapidly changing world' influenced by the rhythm of technological 'progress'. From this a whole range of assumptions, more directly linked to education, arise: the need for constant educational reform (implying that current practices are inadequate); the need for lifelong learning; the need to have educational systems, schools, teachers and students who are adaptable; and the benefits of decentralisation in making the 'system' more adaptable. Finally, the last assumption that will be identified indicates that it is possible to design universal solutions or principles in education that are applicable to all (or at least the vast majority of) social, economic and political contexts.

UNESCO, OECD and the World Bank repeatedly refer to notions such as a "world in the throes of constant change"[82] or 'rapidly changing conditions'[83]. The notion of equilibrium[84] is replaced by the notion of permanent *dis-equilibrium*.

The idea of equilibrium, present in most of comparative education of the

1960s and in the "problem solving" literature, implied that educational systems (and the world as a whole) were in an equilibrium that evolved and contained temporary dis-equilibriums that could be solved by implementing specific solutions, creating a new equilibrium[85]. However, according to Giddens (amongst others), human beings have now acknowledged that the future cannot be predicted by reading the present[86]. Human faith in lineal time and in the ability of social sciences to predict the future has changed. Nevertheless, for OECD, the World Bank and UNESCO there is at least one prediction that can still be sustained: the future will bring about a 'forever rapidly changing world'[87], a world of constant dis-equilibrium, and the main cause of these changes will be technological advancement[88].

Of course, if the world will be ceaselessly changing in the future this has effects for education. For UNESCO these changes will be so quick and so profound that they require "*not that education should adapt to the present but that it should anticipate the future*"[89]. Along these lines, OECD sees as one of its major roles to identify "major new policy issues" in education "which are somewhat ahead of actual country developments and thinking"[90]. Similarly, the World Bank predicts that "the future holds major challenges for countries at all stages of educational and economic development"[91]. Then, the Bank "identifies these challenges"[92], and later it claims to provide the 'recipe' for meeting those challenges: "THE EDUCATION (sic) challenges described in chapter 2 can be met if reforms are introduced along the lines of the changes in the financing and management of education discussed in chapters 3 and 4."[93]

Thus, it is the self-proclaimed task of these organisations not only to look for

solutions to existing educational problems, but also to identify – or rather predict – the problems that will arise in the future. In this way, OECD, UNESCO and the World Bank position themselves as the 'scientific experts' that can predict the future, and also as those that can design universal educational solutions that adapt to this (imagined) future.

The need for constant educational reform implies permanent dissatisfaction with existing educational practices[94]. However, these agencies sometimes criticise the emphasis on too much reform:

> The contemporary language of educational policy…is predominantly one of "change, "reform", "improvement". Scarcely has one set of reforms been formulated, let alone properly implemented, and another is in genesis.[95]

Yet, the problem with too many reforms is that one reform after another "can be the death of reform".[96] Thus, this statement is not a critique of reform itself, but an acknowledgement that there is a limit to the pace of educational reform. In order to succeed, reforms need a long-term approach.[97] From the time an educational reform is conceived until it is implemented and actual change can be seen in classrooms there is an inevitable "time lag".[98]

Thus, in the proposals of these organisations there is a marked distinction between social time and educational time. Although the world is permanently changing without necessarily having stable periods, educational change cannot be permanent. Educational systems need to adapt to one reform before another reform can be implemented. Therefore, these different rhythms in social and educational times reinforce the idea that, if education needs to keep pace with social changes, some predictions of future changes in the social world are necessary when designing

educational reform.

However, certain measures can be taken to make educational systems, schools, teachers and pupils more flexible, and thus needing shorter 'periods of stability' to adapt to the reforms. One of these measures is the decentralisation of educational systems.

Decentralisation of decision-making in education is considered to be an "essential condition of effective educational innovation".[99] Centralised systems are difficult to change and many failures of educational reform have resulted from the lack of involvement of the community, teachers and schools.[100] Similarly, school autonomy is promoted as a principle that would increase the "efficiency of learning" by making schools more flexible and able to respond to change and to local conditions.[101]

For UNESCO, the World Bank and OECD, the greatest benefit of decentralisation and school autonomy is that it encourages innovation. However, this does not mean that schools and the communities should be given absolute freedom. Instead, it is fundamental that decentralisation measures are complemented by a strong central administration that provides overall regulation, setting standards and guiding all the parties involved in education towards "collectively agreed" long-term objectives[102]. In this perspective, schools would be accountable to parents and communities for the learning outcomes, which should be measured by centrally decided indicators of performance, such as examinations and evaluation systems[103].

These organisations have a very specific and similar view of how young people should be educated for a future which is generally referred to as 'the information age'. Students need to be prepared for a working life in which they will have to handle complex technologies and to demonstrate creativity, innovation and adaptability[104]. In addition, the speed at which new knowledge is created and the 'fact' that technologies will permanently, and rapidly, evolve denote the need for a system of lifelong learning[105]. Individuals will have to learn actively and continuously throughout their lives, forever adapting to the changing requirements of the labour markets – which are themselves affected by technological changes[106]. Therefore, all societies need to become learning societies.[107]

At the same time, lifelong learning implies that it is fundamental that children receive a high-quality basic education so that they can acquire a set of core skills that will permit them to learn throughout their lives[108]. Once again, there does not seem to be much disagreement between these agencies when defining what these core skills should be. In the first place, it is recommended that vocational contents or "occupational skills" should be abandoned in the curriculum, which should concentrate on transmitting basic general competencies such as communication skills, creativity, flexibility, learning to learn, the ability to work in groups and to solve problems.[109] In addition, since the rapid social changes predicted by international agencies will be led by technology, science and technology become fundamental contents in the curriculum alongside mathematics, reading and writing.[110]

A final feature that is common to the educational vision of OECD, the World

Bank and UNESCO is that their proposals are legitimised by claims to a scientific status[111]. Thus, their recommendations are presented as being 'neutral and objective'[112], and they can – and should – be applied in most contexts to improve education.

UNESCO's search for a "universal vision"[113] has already been mentioned and is expressed in its educational proposals aimed at the whole world[114]. Meanwhile, OECD's work is oriented towards the formulation of "general conclusions which serve as guidelines for policy development".[115] Although individual countries follow up these guidelines according to their national circumstances, OECD has "clearly identified shared problems" thanks to its "more-or-less homogeneous market economy based country membership".[116] Finally, the World Bank defines "Six Key Reforms" that would enable low and middle-income countries to "meet the challenges in access, equity, quality, and pace of reform that they face"[117]. However, since the Bank acknowledges that there are differences in the "circumstances" of individual countries, it recommends that the order of priority given to each of these six reforms should be assessed for each country[118]. Thus, the need to implement these reforms in every context is taken as a fact. It is the order of priority that should be adapted to local circumstances.

Similar assumptions have been identified in the work of UNESCO, the World Bank and OECD. From the point of view of these agencies the structures of societies, economies and labour markets will be constantly and rapidly changing, and these changes will be mainly propelled by technological 'advancement'. Thus, it is fundamental that educational planners predict the future to have an education that

can keep pace with these constant changes.

Educational systems, schools and students should be flexible and adaptable, and the three agencies recommend similar strategies to attain this objective. In the first place, the principles of decentralisation and school autonomy are considered to be essential. These should be combined with the design of centrally decided indicators of performance and evaluation systems (both for students and for educational institutions themselves). In addition, a system of lifelong learning is seen as indispensable, since people will have to permanently adapt to the changing requirements of labour markets, and to technological change.

There is also a strong agreement within the work of these organisations about promoting a curriculum based on certain competencies like flexibility, creativity, learning to learn, working in groups and problem solving. In addition, they recommend that science and technology become a major component of the curriculum.

Finally, these agencies believe that the universal educational principles identified above should be applied in most educational systems to 'improve' education. As with Jullien, there is an implicit assumption behind this belief: that education can be seen as an independent aspect of social reality. In this view, educational transfer is seen as an unproblematic process and a universal model of education is not only possible, but also desirable.

In the next section, the universal educational principles that the World Bank

UNESCO and OECD recommend for teacher education will be analysed, as a more detailed example of how the assumptions shared by these agencies are expressed in their proposals.

UNESCO, the World Bank, and OECD: a universal model for teacher education?

It is suggested in this section that there are a number of common principles that underpin the different recommendations for teacher education in the work of OECD, UNESCO and the World Bank. Thus, it is argued in this section that by unveiling these common principles it is possible to identify a universal model of teacher education that is promoted by these agencies through their proposals.

As mentioned in the previous section, OECD, UNESCO and the World Bank promote a series of educational reforms that should be applied in most contexts to make education more adaptable to the 'rapidly changing world'. These reforms imply new challenges and demands for teachers. Thus, a fundamental feature in these reform proposals is the call for a more professional teaching force that would be able to respond to the challenges posed to them by new curricula and by management and evaluation systems (amongst other innovations)[119].

Many different strategies related to recruitment, evaluation, remuneration and appraisal systems are recommended for the professionalisation of teachers. However, this section will specifically analyse the proposals that are put forward to improve the training of teachers.

To design teacher education systems that would "produce" professionals, rather than technicians[120], OECD, the World Bank and UNESCO stress that teachers should receive the same kind of education that they are expected to impart to the students with whom they will work[121]. Thus, these agencies suggest that the curricula for teacher education should not be organised around the transmission of specific knowledge and information. Instead, they advocate a teacher training system based on the acquisition of competencies[122].

It is here suggested that OECD, UNESCO, and the World Bank recommend that teachers should learn how to be flexible and adaptable, to relate their teaching to the outside world, to 'learn how to learn', and to be autonomous and creative. In addition, teachers are expected to acquire a wide range of pedagogical skills, to learn how to work in teams and to be able to reflect on their own practice.

In the view of OECD, the World Bank and UNESCO, there are two ways in which teachers should be flexible and adaptable. In the first place, it is recommended that teachers should learn to adapt their lessons to the students' different cultures and to the local circumstances in which they teach. Thus, teachers should be able to 'bring the outside world into the classroom'[123]. Teachers are seen as members of a "learning community"[124]. It is their responsibility to link to other members of this community, such as parents or people with special expertise, and promote their participation in the educational process.[125] At the same time, teachers should avoid isolation, engaging in activities of the community outside the school[126]. In addition, they should become familiar with the world of work and have a positive attitude

towards this world for which they are preparing their students.[127] Consequently, teacher education should promote the awareness of the context in which teachers act, including knowledge about different cultural groups.[128]

Similarly, OECD, the World Bank and UNESCO recommend that teaching should be related to the experience that children bring into school. Students learn more "effectively" when the teacher helps them relate theoretical knowledge to their own experience in daily life.[129] Therefore, a good teacher should learn how to balance the curriculum with the ideas and attitudes that students acquire outside the school[130]. In addition, teachers should be made aware that their professional responsibility goes beyond the educational system: they should help students understand the social problems of 'real life'[131].

On the other hand, teachers should learn how to adapt to permanent changes in the curriculum and in teaching methods, which are a consequence of the permanent evolution of knowledge. As UNESCO states:

> The world in general is evolving so rapidly today that teachers, like most other professional groups, now must face the fact that their initial training will not see them through the rest of their lives: they need to update and improve their own knowledge and techniques throughout their lifetime.[132]

Thus, initial teacher training by itself is perceived as being inadequate for a career in which teachers will have to adapt their knowledge and skills to the "evolution" of curricula, epistemologies and teaching methods[133]. Teacher training should rather be seen as a "continuum that covers general education, professional training, on-the-job training and specialized training".[134]

Lifelong learning becomes an imperative for all of those engaged in the teaching profession[135], and this reinforces the need to develop a system of in-service training (INSET) as a way of ensuring that training becomes an integral and permanent part of teaching. INSET is promoted as the best way to respond to rapid changes[136] and to the "dynamic character of teacher quality"[137]. This has implications for initial training. Teacher trainees should learn how to learn[138], and throughout the initial training process they should develop a positive attitude towards change[139].

The provision of information in pre-service training is also questioned: information should not be presented as a series of prescriptions, but rather as alternatives from which teachers can choose when structuring their practice.[140] Thus, instead of receiving a "cookbook of skills or knowledge to be memorized"[141], future teachers should be encouraged to be autonomous and self-reliant.[142] UNESCO, the World Bank and OECD promote a style of school that fosters individual autonomy and they are generally against centralised, top-down approaches[143]. Therefore, as a way of responding to the new responsibilities that are placed on them, teachers should be encouraged to take initiatives for themselves and have authority over their own work[144].

The autonomous position that teachers should have in the classroom needs to be recognised in training itself. Trainees must be encouraged to become familiar with concrete pedagogic problems and experiment with appropriate solutions.[145] Teachers should start developing their autonomy in their pre-service training by being actively in control of their own learning. In that way, more autonomous teachers will take responsibility not only for what they learn in their initial education, but also for their

future development and for the results of their work in the classroom.[146]

From OECD, UNESCO and the World Bank's point of view, another competency that teachers should acquire in their pre-service training is creativity. Teaching has become an increasingly complex task and teachers are permanently faced with unpredictable situations.[147] In order to respond in an imaginative way to the pedagogical challenges of the classroom[148], teachers have to be open to new ideas, experimenting with new methods in an imaginative way[149]. Thus, teacher education should stimulate the teacher's capacity for innovation and creativity[150].

A good teacher, in the view of these organisations, is the one who can choose from a wide range of pedagogic methods according to the specific circumstances of a particular lesson. Consequently, teacher education should not favour certain teaching methods. Rather, trainees should become confident with a broad repertoire of pedagogic methods from which they can then – using their autonomy and creativity – choose the best for each occasion[151].

However, within the work of UNESCO, the World Bank, and OECD, there is an emphasis on a certain type of pedagogy: child centred pedagogy. A quality teacher is defined as a "facilitator"[152], a mediator in the acquisition of knowledge that helps learners "seek, organize and manage knowledge, guiding them rather than moulding them."[153] In this view, students are seen as being more important than teachers' plans,[154] and consequently pupils should be placed at the centre of the learning process.[155] Teachers should move away from standardised procedures and, taking into account the differences between individual students, adapt their lessons to

pupils' interests and abilities[156]. Therefore, teacher training needs to help teachers to modify their conceptions, theories and beliefs about teaching, so that they may develop the capacity to take into account pupils' individualities in a learner-centred approach.[157]

Following this view, that promotes a change in teachers' attitudes towards learners, conventional teaching methods are strongly criticised[158]. These methods, like drill and practice, memorisation of content, and whole class instruction with an emphasis on lectures by the teachers, might have been useful for the past, but they do not conduct to students' learning under current, 'more challenging', conditions.[159] As OECD says:

> Teaching traditional curricula was in many respects a relatively simple matter: to caricature slightly, the teacher possessed a certain amount of knowledge (mostly factual information) which had to be learnt and reproduced by the pupils. The teacher's task was to present the information in manageable packages, the pupils memorised the information, and after the interval the teacher tested the pupil's recall. Correct and incorrect answers could easily be identified and pupils given a mark without difficulty.[160]

In contrast, international agencies suggest that teachers should learn how to structure their lessons so that students are actively involved in their own learning process[161]. Teachers should be able to promote independent learning amongst their students as a way of developing students' individual judgement and responsibility for their own learning.[162] In addition, teachers should learn how to use the 'problem-solving approach', presenting knowledge to pupils in the form of a problem and encouraging students to work by themselves (or in groups[163]) towards finding solutions to these problems.[164]

Another competency that initial teacher education courses should transmit to

future teachers is the ability to work in teams. This is considered to be essential, since teachers should be able to participate in the construction of a positive learning environment in the school by working collaboratively with their colleagues and other members of the learning community.[165]

Finally, UNESCO, the World Bank, and OECD advocate teacher-training courses in which the trainee is an active participant[166]. Therefore, practice-based training in schools should become a major part of the training of teachers[167]. In this way, future teachers will be faced with practical pedagogic problems that they will have to solve and training becomes more related to their future jobs[168]. It is through field experience that trainees can challenge the dichotomy between the acquisition and the application of knowledge[169]. Practice becomes fundamental for trainees to achieve the competencies that they need to be 'quality teachers'[170].

In order for practice-based training to be successful it must be combined with the ability of trainees to reflect on their own practice[171]. This skill – or rather competency – will be used by teachers throughout their whole career to creatively and autonomously evaluate and improve their own practice[172].

Thus, although the proposals for teacher education in the works of OECD, the World Bank and UNESCO are not exactly the same, there are certain principles that are present in the proposals of these three organisations.

These three agencies emphasise the need for a more professional teaching force. This is closely related with their advocacy of the principles of decentralisation

and school autonomy in every context. Once these principles are applied, the control of the state on the work of teachers is exercised through other means. Teachers are no longer given a detailed and clear guide of what they should do in the classroom, instead, they are granted more autonomy to attain pre-set goals and their work is evaluated by the central authority, based on performance indicators that have been previously defined.

Thus, in the view of UNESCO, the World Bank, and OECD, teacher education must be revised and the curricula for these courses should be based on the transmission of a number of competencies. Some of these competencies, which teachers have to acquire in their pre-service training, are similar to the kind of competencies that teachers will then have to transmit to their students. These are: flexibility and adaptability, creativity, autonomy, learning to learn, and the ability to work in teams. Other competencies included in the proposals of these three agencies are specific to teachers: teachers should open up to the 'outside world', they should be able to reflect on their own practice, and they should have a wide repertoire of pedagogical skills – although 'child-centred pedagogy' is emphasised in the proposals of these international agencies.

In addition a system of lifelong learning should be devised for teachers as a way of responding to permanent curricular reform. This will be necessary due to the permanent and rapid changes in the economy and in the world of work – propelled by technological progress – as has been predicted by the World Bank, OECD and UNESCO.

Thus, this thesis has identified within the recommendations for teacher education contained in the proposals of UNESCO, the World Bank, and OECD a universal model of teacher education. This model can also be construed through the meaning that is given in the proposals of these agencies to concepts of 'pedagogic identity', 'pedagogic knowledge', and 'curricular control'.

For the purpose of this thesis the concept of 'pedagogic identity' was defined in Chapter Two as the message that is sent to teachers about their professional role. The concept of 'pedagogic knowledge' refers to knowledge about the educational process itself, that is, about the process by which the contents are transmitted to students. Finally, the concept of 'curricular control' refers to the relations promoted between teachers and the contents that they have to transmit in the classroom.

The pedagogic identity that is promoted in the proposals of international agencies defines the professional role of teachers as one in which their main task is to prepare students for work in a technologically driven, ever changing future. Thus, good teachers are defined as those who are responsible for their own learning throughout their career, and open to links with the community and the world of work. In addition, teachers should be flexible, adaptable, able to work in teams, and to reflect on their own practice.

The meaning given to pedagogic knowledge in the recommendations of international agencies stresses adaptability, flexibility and experimentation. Consequently, teachers should be given a wide range of pedagogic skills from which to choose, using their autonomy and creativity. They should adapt their pedagogy to

local contexts and needs of individual students, placing the student at the centre of the learning process. This pedagogic knowledge should be obtained mainly through the active participation of trainees in practice-based training.

The meaning given to curricular control in the work of UNESCO, the World Bank and OECD emphasises autonomy and creativity on the side of teachers who should be able to have freedom to choose the specific contents of the lessons according to local context and students' characteristics, but respecting general guidelines from the central agencies of the state.

Conclusion

The international agencies that have been selected were founded for the reconstruction of Europe after the Second World War. Once this role became redundant, these agencies have oriented their work towards the 'development of the world'. Meanwhile, the 'transfer' of educational knowledge has become one of their main activities. In addition, UNESCO, the World Bank, and OECD can be seen as having very different perspectives towards education – sometimes even opposed, as is the case of UNESCO and the World Bank. However, this chapter has shown that there are a series of assumptions that are shared by these agencies.

Analysing the assumptions about the future embedded in the work of these three agencies reveals a striking similarity in the way that these agencies read the future as 'the information age'. Furthermore, these agencies not only read the future as the information age, but they also claim to have an educational model that adapts to this future.

This model has not been 'tested' in a specific practice-bound educational context. Rather it is an imagined abstract model that has been designed according to a series of predictions about the future which are legitimised by their 'scientific' status. The assumption underlying the design of such a model is that just as the educational needs of an 'industrial society' could be identified, the educational needs of 'knowledge economies' can also be defined. Of course, within this assumption is the belief that a series of countries in the world have become 'knowledge economies' and that this is the 'status' to which all societies should aspire[173].

The model is offered as an ideal for most educational contexts. It should be used to judge most educational systems and, then, once the faults have been identified, as a model for reform. In this way the proposals of international agencies produce a global educational discourse.

Global educational discourse constructs its superiority through a set of powerful discursive oppositions[174]. The pedagogic identity that is promoted defines good teachers as flexible, adaptable and autonomous reflective practitioners who have the ability to work in groups, they are open to the world of work and the community, and are responsible for their own lifelong learning. This is set as opposed to traditional teachers who are defined as being inflexible, closed inside the school, unable to work with their colleagues, and not interested in updating their professional knowledge. Thus, the message is that this universally ideal teacher prepares students for the world of the future, while traditional teachers prepare students for a bygone world.

Similarly, in the meaning given to pedagogic knowledge in global educational discourse ideal teachers adapt their methods to individual students and contexts because they have a wide range of pedagogic skills and know how to use them, placing the child at the centre of the learning process. This implies that, on the contrary, traditional teachers only know how to teach in a certain way and they are incapable of adapting to students and context. It is the student who has to adapt in the teacher-centred pedagogic style that traditional teachers use.

Finally, the meaning given to curricular control in global educational discourse defines teachers as autonomous and creative professionals who can choose the contents for their lessons, as opposed to traditional teachers who are only capable of following detailed orders.

In the next chapters, the meanings given to concepts of pedagogic identity, pedagogic knowledge and curricular control in global educational discourse will be used as a *tertium comparationis* to analyse how this discourse influenced reforms of teacher education in Argentina and Brazil during the 1990s.

However, this thesis has argued that through a process of recontextualization global educational discourse could be transformed if and as interaction with available discourses in Argentina and Brazil takes place. It is the moving between contexts, and thus the characteristics of the contexts of reception that define the transformations.

Therefore, to understand the transformations that could take place as global educational discourse is localised in Argentina and Brazil it is necessary to be aware

of available discourses about teacher education in these contexts of reception. It has been argued in this thesis that if global educational discourse moves into the Argentine and Brazilian educational fields, it could be reinterpreted within the principles of dominant discourses about, in this case, what constitutes good teacher education. Consequently, dominant discourses in the history of teacher education in Argentina and Brazil should be explored. Before examining if (and how) global educational discourse moved into Argentine and Brazilian educational systems, the next chapter will offer a comparative analysis of teacher education in these two countries.

Endnotes

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[3] UNESCO. Web page. Cited November 2001. Available from http://firewall.unesco.org
[4] OECD. Web page. Cited November 2001. Available from www.oecd.org
[5] World Bank, *Priorities and Strategies for Education: A World Bank Sector Review* (Washington, DC: World Bank, 1995), p. xii.
[6] From 1980 to 1995 the World Bank's volume of lending for education has tripled, and although lending was initially concentrated in Africa, East Asia and the Middle East, by 1995 it had extended to all (low – and middle – income) regions, and "Latin America and the Caribbean" has become the principal borrowing region. Ibid., p.14 and p. 151.
[7] Ibid., p. 14
[8] World Bank. Web page. Cited November 2001. Available from. www.worldbank.org
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[11] Ibid., p.15
[12] Ibid., pp. 15-16
[13] Ibid., p. xii.
[14] Federico Mayor, Sema Tanguiane, and UNESCO, *UNESCO - an Ideal in Action: The Continuing Relevance of a Visionary Text* (Paris: UNESCO, 1997), p. 77.
[15] UNESCO, *Medium-Term Strategy 1996-2001*, p. 1.
[16] The International Commission on Education for the Twenty-first Century is an example of UNESCO's role as intellectual forum. Ibid., p. 11.
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[85] Ibid.
[86] Anthony Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity in association with Blackwell, 1990).
[87] Although UNESCO, the World Bank, and OECD do not use this expression literally, their proposals often suggest that the world will be forever changing in the future and that these changes will be very rapid. See for example OECD, *Quality in Teaching*, p. 3; World Bank, *Priorities and Strategies for Education: A World Bank Sector Review*, p. 3 and pp. 24-25; UNESCO, *Medium-Term Strategy 1996-2001*, p. 1 and p. 6.
[88] See for example Papadopoulos, *Education 1960-1990: The OECD Perspective*, p. 171; World Bank, *Priorities and Strategies for Education: A World Bank Sector Review*, pp. 24-25
[89] Mayor, Tanguiane, and UNESCO, *UNESCO - an Ideal in Action: The Continuing Relevance of a Visionary Text*, p. 87.

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[95] OECD, *The Teacher Today: Tasks, Conditions, Policies*, p. 99.
[96] International Commission and UNESCO, *Learning: The Treasure Within. Report to UNESCO of the International Commission on Education for the Twenty-First Century*, p. 28.
[97] Ibid.; OECD, *The Teacher Today: Tasks, Conditions, Policies*, p. 99.
[98] Ibid.
[99] Papadopoulos, *Education 1960-1990: The OECD Perspective*, p. 203.; see also International Commission and UNESCO, *Learning: The Treasure Within. Report to UNESCO of the International Commission on Education for the Twenty-First Century*, p. 29.
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[101] World Bank, *Priorities and Strategies for Education: A World Bank Sector Review*, pp. 126-29.
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[104] International Commission and UNESCO, *Learning: The Treasure Within. Report to UNESCO of the International Commission on Education for the Twenty-First Century*, p. 166.
[105] Ibid., p. 100; World Bank, *Priorities and Strategies for Education: A World Bank Sector Review*, p. 24.
[106] World Bank, *Priorities and Strategies for Education: A World Bank Sector Review*, p. 24; Papadopoulos, *Education 1960-1990: The OECD Perspective*, p. 194; International Commission and UNESCO, *Learning: The Treasure Within. Report to UNESCO of the International Commission on Education for the Twenty-First Century*, p. 100.
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[108] International Commission and UNESCO, *Learning: The Treasure Within. Report to UNESCO of the International Commission on Education for the Twenty-First Century*, pp. 24-26; Papadopoulos, *Education 1960-1990: The OECD Perspective*, p. 180 and p. 194.
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[113] UNESCO, *Medium-Term Strategy 1996-2001*, p. 11.
[114] See for example Mayor, Tanguiane, and UNESCO, *UNESCO - an Ideal in Action: The Continuing Relevance of a Visionary Text*, pp. 91-93.
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[117] World Bank, *Priorities and Strategies for Education: A World Bank Sector Review*, p. 89.
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[123] Barkatoolah, *Learning from Experience: A New Approach for Teacher up-Grading*, p. 14; F. Michael Connelly, "Teacher Evaluation: A Critical Review and a Plea for Supervised Reflective Practice", in *Teachers in Developing Countries: Improving Effectiveness and Managing Costs*, ed. Joseph P. Farrell (Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, 1993), p. 168; OECD, *The Teacher Today: Tasks, Conditions, Policies*, p. 84.
[124]OECD, *Quality in Teaching*, p. 35.
[125] International Commission and UNESCO, *Learning: The Treasure Within. Report to UNESCO of the International Commission on Education for the Twenty-First Century*, p. 148; Gagliardi, ed., *Teacher Training and Multiculturalism: National Studies*, p. 6.
[126] OECD, *Quality in Teaching*, p. 39; Connelly, "Teacher Evaluation: A Critical Review and a Plea for Supervised Reflective Practice", p. 171; Barkatoolah, *Learning from Experience: A New Approach for Teacher up-Grading*, p. 1; International Commission and UNESCO, *Learning: The Treasure Within. Report to UNESCO of the International Commission on Education for the Twenty-First Century*, p. 150.
[127] OECD, *The Teacher Today: Tasks, Conditions, Policies*, pp. 114-115; International Commission and UNESCO, *Learning: The Treasure Within. Report to UNESCO of the International Commission on Education for the Twenty-First Century*, p. 150.
[128] Connelly, "Teacher Evaluation: A Critical Review and a Plea for Supervised Reflective Practice", p. 171; Beatrice Avalos, "Teacher Training in Developing Countries: Lessons from Research", in *Teachers in Developing Countries: Improving Effectiveness and Managing Costs*, ed. Joseph P. Farrell (Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, 1993), p. 181; Schaeffer, "Participatory Approaches to Teacher Training", p. 192; OECD, *The Teacher Today: Tasks, Conditions, Policies*, p. 84; Gagliardi, ed., *Teacher Training and Multiculturalism: National Studies*, p. 6.
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[131] OECD, *Quality in Teaching*, p. 69.
[132] International Commission and UNESCO, *Learning: The Treasure Within. Report to UNESCO of the International Commission on Education for the Twenty-First Century*, p. 149.
[133] OECD, *Quality in Teaching*, p. 81; International Commission and UNESCO, *Learning: The Treasure Within. Report to UNESCO of the International Commission on Education for the Twenty-First Century*, p. 153.
[134] Haddad, *Teacher Training: A Review of World Bank Experience*, p. vi.
[135] International Commission and UNESCO, *Learning: The Treasure Within. Report to UNESCO of the International Commission on Education for the Twenty-First Century*, p. 200; Schaeffer, "Participatory Approaches to Teacher Training", p. 197.
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[139] Avalos, "Teacher Training in Developing Countries: Lessons from Research", p. 183.
[140] Schaeffer, "Participatory Approaches to Teacher Training", p. 197.
[141] Ibid., p. 193.
[142] Ibid.; OECD, *The Teacher Today: Tasks, Conditions, Policies*; Barkatoolah, *Learning from Experience: A New Approach for Teacher up-Grading*, p. 9.
[143] OECD, *Quality in Teaching*, p. 79.
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[148] Lockheed, *Improving Primary Education in Developing Countries*, p. 98.
[149] OECD, *The Teacher Today: Tasks, Conditions, Policies*, p. 107; Schaeffer, "Participatory Approaches to Teacher Training", p. 191.
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[155] Ibid., p. 52; Lockheed, *Improving Primary Education in Developing Countries*, p. 67; Barkatoolah, *Learning from Experience: A New Approach for Teacher up-Grading*, p. 2.
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[170] OECD, *Quality in Teaching*, pp. 79; Barkatoolah, *Learning from Experience: A New Approach for Teacher up-Grading*, p. 2.

[171] Avalos, "Teacher Training in Developing Countries: Lessons from Research", p. 182.

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Chapter 4

Contexts of reception:
A view over time of teacher education in Argentina and Brazil

This chapter offers a comparative view of teacher education in Argentina and Brazil. Emphasis will be placed on finding continuities and discontinuities in the meaning that was given over time to 'pedagogic identity', 'pedagogic knowledge', and 'curricular control' in the curricula for teacher education in these two countries.

There are mainly three reasons to present such an analysis in this thesis. In the first place, a view over time of teacher education in Argentina and Brazil could help understand the contexts into which – it has been argued – global educational discourse moved in the 1990s. In the second place, identifying the kind of knowledge that has been offered in different historical periods to teachers in their initial training in Argentina and Brazil will contribute to an understanding of the extent to which the proposals of international agencies represented (or not) a rupture with the kind of education that has traditionally been offered to teachers in these countries. Finally, the third reason for a view over time of teacher education in Argentina and Brazil is to suggest, comparatively, that trajectories of teacher education have been different in Argentina and in Brazil. Consequently – as will be explored in the next chapters of this thesis – if global educational discourse moved into Argentina and Brazil in the 1990s it could have been recontextualized differently in each of these countries.

Judge *et al*[1] suggest that describing the way in which school teachers and their

professional education are regarded serves to expose a whole range of embedded attitudes about education, cultural assumptions and political habits. How teachers are educated should reflect beliefs about what is the function of teachers in society. And examining such beliefs should reveal underlying theories of the purpose of education, the actual and desirable shape of society, the relationship between education and the economy, and the culture which the schools intend to transmit.

Although the above list might be too ambitious it will still be argued in this chapter that overall changes in Argentine and Brazilian society can be described through an analysis of teacher education in these two countries. Consequently, it is argued that trajectories of teacher education in Argentina and Brazil are notably different, since they reflect (and at the same time contribute to) changes in society at large.

Thus, as counter-point to the specific analysis of the kind of knowledge transmitted to teachers in their initial training, this chapter will relate the analysis to issues of modernisation (including concepts of 'civilisation', 'order and progress' and, later, 'economic development'), the fostering of national identity, the organisation of educational systems, and immigration, race, gender and social class. In addition, special attention will be placed on foreign influences in the systems of teacher education in Argentina and Brazil; a theme that is closely related to the core of this thesis.

Educational systems throughout the world have been shaped by the flow of ideas and practices across international borders[2]. Analysing this global diffusion of ideas and practices, Meyer and Ramirez refer to the "world institutionalisation of education":

> The logic of rationalized modern mass and elite education has always meant that a high degree of international homogenisation was involved. Within the framework of a world society the process of becoming a nation-state and of competing with other nation-states led to the adoption of remarkably similar technologies, such as education. This process has produced pressures towards institutional isomorphism throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[3]

Thus, from these authors' point of view, patterns of educational systems (and especially their similarities) cannot be explained by national socio-historical characteristics. They are rather the result of an existing 'world culture'[4]. This position has had several critiques. Dale suggests that the evidence that these authors use to arrive at their conclusions is based on categories set at a high "level of generality", and that they present little evidence of how these categories are nationally interpreted.[5] Furthermore, what is most systematically criticised about the work of Meyers and Ramirez (and other authors who have put forward similar arguments) is that they fail to capture processes of indigenization[6] or recontextualization[7] through which, in the course of institutional implementation, these trans-nationally disseminated models are "interwoven with previous layers of political behaviour, social meanings and culture-specific patterns…[that] change their significance and the way they function"[8]

Following these discussions, it will be suggested in this chapter that throughout their formation processes Argentine and Brazilian educational systems have been subject to similar influences, or what Alexander calls "clearly discernable supranational versions of pedagogy"[9]. However, it will also be suggested that these influences have been interpreted differently, resulting in particular patterns in each of these systems, since "Educational ideas do not just migrate; in speaking to different cultural histories and conditions they also change"[10].

In this chapter, the Argentine and Brazilian systems of teacher education will be analysed as contexts of reception and adaptation of three major international influences. These three influences were deliberately chosen after a review of the literature on the history of teacher education in Argentina and Brazil, which showed that these were the three most important foreign influences that were common to both systems of teacher education. From the perspective of Argentine and Brazilian teacher education systems these three major influences can be defined as *Normalismo* (the Normal School), *Escolanovismo* (the New Education Movement), and *Desarrollismo* (Developmental and Technocratic views). Thus, the chapter will be divided into three sections. Each section will analyse how each of these three influences was adopted and adapted in Argentina and in Brazil.

Normalismo: the origins of teacher education systems in Argentina and Brazil

This section suggests that during the nineteenth century, as Brazil and Argentina were constructing systems of teacher education, both countries were strongly influenced by the French Normal Schools. However, even though Normal Schools were used in both countries as a model for building teacher training institutions, it will be argued that as a result of socio-political particularities, local interpretations resulted in 'Normal Schools' having different characteristics in each of these countries.

It is here suggested that during the period in which the Argentine educational system was created the state promoted amongst teachers a pedagogic identity that emphasised a fundamentally political role: to homogenise the population by 'converting' them into a specific culture. This culture was not only foreign to pupils, but it was also unfamiliar to teachers themselves. Thus, the creation of teacher education institutions that could introduce teachers into the norms, values and principles that they were expected to transmit was a fundamental strategy within the state's nation-building project.

It is now widely accepted that the creation of the Argentine educational system was part of the state-led project of building a 'modern' Argentine nation. Within this project, a 'modern' educational system was seen as the most adequate social technology to give rise to cultural unity out of a vast territory with intense regional disparities. This cultural diversity was considered to be a threat for the central power[11].

The Argentine elite sought a shift from a 'traditional' scattered society to a united 'modern' nation integrated into the rest of the world. This project required new men and women who would be united by their common feeling of love for the *patria* (nation). It was the culture of the urban elites that was taken as a model for this new vision[12]. Thus, the kind of 'ideal' citizen that was promoted was very different from most of the population that inhabited the Argentine territory at that time. The people had to be 'converted', and it was through the public primary school that this new vision

would be disseminated, homogenising the population under a uniform culture[13].

Public primary schools were geared towards 'civilising', 'converting' or, in other words, transforming the population. This, of course, implied that there was something wrong with the inhabitants of the national territory. Indigenous cultures were considered to be inferior[14], and consequently they needed to be given even more 'education' than the other children, "at least as much as the abnormal"[15]. In addition, the Spanish – which constituted most of the immigration that had arrived to Argentina at those times – were considered to be the most backward people of Europe[16].

"*Civilización o barbarie*" was the slogan of Sarmiento, who is considered the founder of the Argentine educational system. Two strategies were mainly used in the quest for civilising the country: education and the promotion of European immigration[17]. European immigrants were seen as 'civilising' agents that would bring with them their culture, order and attitude towards work, serving as a model for the Argentine population. As one of the most important Argentine intellectuals of the time, J. B. Alberdi, said: "Each European who arrives at our shores brings more civilisation in his habits – which he then communicates to our inhabitants – than many books of philosophy"[18].

However, immigrants became another obstacle in the homogenising project. Many of them did not bring the kind of culture and attitude towards work that was expected from them[19]. Massive immigration did not arrive in Argentina from the Northern European countries, which were believed to have 'an industrial attitude', but

rather from the countries of the South of Europe. In addition, many of the immigrants that arrived in Argentina had been active participants in the working class struggles in Europe and had quite the opposite 'industrial attitude' than the expected.[20]

Furthermore, the newly arrived introduced many different cultural traditions, languages and values, adding to existing cultural diversity. Thus, the new immigrant groups reinforced the need for a public primary school that would 'convert' all of the population into a common culture and guarantee political stability, legitimising the power of the central state.[21]

The Argentine elite had a quite ambiguous position towards the culture that should be transmitted in schools: they promoted a 'European way of life', but at the same time they struggled against the perpetuation of the ways of life of each of the particular foreign communities.[22] Consequently, finding the agents that would transmit the dominant culture – which was foreign to them – was a fundamental problem in the strategy of the state. It was necessary to create an 'army' of specialists that would perform a fundamental task in the nation-building project[23].

The state assumed the responsibility for the education of teachers adopting the French model of the Normal Schools[24]. The idea was to have educators that were as homogeneous as possible, so that they could be interchangeable and any deviation in the transmission of the unifying culture could be avoided.[25] In 1869 the first Normal School was funded in the City of Paraná, by 1885 the National State had funded 18 of these teacher-training institutions (at least one in each of the 14 Argentine provinces)[26], and by

1889 there were 34 Normal Schools in Argentina[27].

The Normal School was placed as an intermediate institution, standing between primary schools – oriented towards the civilisation of the masses, and secondary schools – oriented towards the education of the elite.[28] Although Normal Schools were legally considered to be a part of the middle school subsystem, there was a major difference between teacher training institutions and other secondary schools: graduates of secondary schools obtained a baccalaureate and thus could have access to higher education, while graduates of the Normal School were not allowed into higher education[29].

Positivism had a strong influence on the kind of education that took place in the Normal Schools[30]. When the National State created the educational system in Argentina it had to displace the Catholic Church, which had been in charge of most educational practices up to that time[31]. Unquestioned faith in God and in the moral principles of the Church was replaced by secular faith in Science and in natural laws[32]. However, even though the contents of the moral principles of the Church were displaced, its forms were kept. The previously unquestioned love for the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit was displaced by love for the school, science and the *Patria*[33]. Schools became the 'temples of knowledge', and teachers the 'priests of civilisation':

> The duties of the teacher are hardly less sacred and delicate than those of the priest. In many important aspects they have a similar relation with society...[34]

Thus, the state promoted amongst teachers a clearly defined pedagogic identity: their role was to transmit the dominant culture and to fight against 'ignorance' (defined as the

perpetuation of any culture that was different from the one promoted by schools). Teachers were expected to behave as 'models', teaching through their exemplifying conduct. "Having in mind that the example teaches more than the precept ...what is demanded from teachers, is not knowledge, but rather that they have the talent to communicate"[35]

Teachers not only had to transmit certain fundamental knowledge for citizenship (such as the three Rs), but one of their main tasks was to promote certain norms, values and principles. Consequently, it was the moral aptitudes of the teacher that were given pre-eminence in the Normal Schools[36]. Emphasis was placed on fostering love for the *patria*, altruism and generosity, hygiene, a good character, and especially 'good' habits and a love for order.[37]

This strong emphasis on moral education complied with the first part of the widely used slogan '*orden y progreso*'. Next in the hierarchy of importance defined by the positivistic influence was the teaching of pedagogic knowledge, which would provide the scientifically validated methods that, if strictly followed by the teacher, would guarantee the efficacy of the learning processes[38]. The last position in this hierarchy was given to disciplinary knowledge. Teachers were expected to know only as much as was required by their specific task, but not more than that. As the Director of a Normal School said in 1910: "The Normal School should not be aimed at the education of wise people ... The excess of studies brings about counter-productive results".[39]

Thus, the relationship that was promoted between the trainees and scientific

knowledge was one of respect and admiration, but future teachers were not expected to appropriate this knowledge.[40] This idea seems to be contradicted by the fact that the study plans of the period increasingly allocated more time to the study of 'pedagogy'[41]. However, after analysing the books that were used in this subject, Alliaud notes that many contents of moral education were included within the study of 'pedagogy'[42]. Furthermore, the contents specifically related to pedagogic knowledge concentrated on the transmission of teaching methods, giving less importance to theoretical knowledge about the process of teaching and learning[43].

Once again, trainees were expected to learn just enough about pedagogic knowledge so as to be able to teach efficiently:

> Washing and cooking also follow the laws of chemistry and physics, but cleaners and cooks need more the school of practice than to understand the principles of a science which they will never study[44].

Along these lines, practice was considered a fundamental part of the training of teachers. Between 1869 and 1898 the National State hired a group of 65 teachers from the US to collaborate with teacher education[45]. Every Normal School had an annexe called '*Escuela de Aplicación*', which was especially created for practice-based instruction[46]. Experienced instructors conducted 'model lessons' in these institutions while trainees observed and learnt by imitation. It was expected that future teachers would follow the model in every single detail[47]. Any deviation or creativity on the side of the teacher was considered to be risky. As the internal regulation for all Normal Schools established:

> ...[Trainees] should always be aware that although one of the aims of the *Escuela de Aplicación* is to allow student-teachers to practice teaching, they do not have the right to use procedures which could be inconvenient for the moral and intellectual character of children; and that mistakes in the act of teaching have harmful consequences which are difficult to correct.[48]

Thus, the kind of education that future teachers received in the Normal Schools in Argentina during this period was closer to an apprenticeship for a craft, than to professional education. Trainees were not expected to appropriate pedagogic nor scientific knowledge, neither could they participate in the production of the culture that they had to transmit. Instead, they were expected to have respect and admiration for 'the' culture and for scientific knowledge; and to learn by imitation how to perform a specific task: to teach.

Pedagogic knowledge was defined as an instrumental command of teaching methods. These were mainly learnt by imitation in the '*Escuelas de Aplicacion*' and through lessons on practical pedagogy. In addition, teachers were expected to be models of moral conduct themselves, and the emphasis on morals was such that moral contents pervaded the study of pedagogic knowledge.

The meaning given to pedagogic identity in the Argentine State defined teachers as the agents that would homogenise the population by converting them into the culture of the elite. Therefore, in the meaning given to curricular control, future teachers were expected to admire the culture which they had to transmit and scientific knowledge, but they did not participate in decisions related to the contents of lessons. Rather, they were seen as the obedient executors of a series of detailed instructions designed by the state.

During such a long time – 1880-1940 – there were many socio-political changes in Argentina, such as massive immigration, the emergence of the middle class and its

arrival in power[49]. Although within this period several reforms of the study plans for the Normal Schools were initiated, none of these reforms lasted for more than one or two years[50]. The study plan of 1903 – with the characteristics described in this section – was dominant during this period until its reform in 1943[51].

In the period in which the Argentine educational system was created the strategy of the state – aimed at the homogenisation of the population by fostering a national identity – was highly successful. Primary schools were positioned as central institutions in the construction of national identity and this resulted in a high degree of cultural homogenisation throughout the Argentine territory[52]. Enrolments in primary education grew rapidly, and by 1930 Argentina was amongst the top countries of the world in terms of schooling of its population, with 60% to 70% of the school-aged population going to school.[53]

Meanwhile, in Brazil, the education of the masses and the construction of a national identity through the educational system only became a 'national issue' during the 1930s. In the next sub-section, the period of the Brazilian Empire and the first decades of the Republic will be analysed, suggesting that in the slave society of the Empire, primary and teacher education were not given much importance. The message that sought to define the pedagogic identity of teachers depended on each of the provinces, consequently it was weak and fragmented, and pedagogic knowledge was not considered to be a central part of teacher education.

The Brazilian Empire and the first years of the Republic

Since the early nineteenth century the Brazilian Imperial Court assumed the responsibility for the education of the elites and civil servants for the state bureaucracy that was being created with the Empire (1822-1889). This was done by retaining central control over higher education[54]. Meanwhile, through the *Ato Adicional* of 1834, the Court delegated the education of the lower social classes to the governments of the provinces, by transferring all responsibilities for elementary, secondary and teacher education[55].

However, it is important to note that Brazil had a very strong social hierarchy at that time, in which non-whites occupied the lowest position and were excluded from public education, even if they were free.[56] Women were also excluded. Later in the nineteenth century, special schools for girls were established with different curricular contents from those for boys[57]. It was only by the end of that century that co-education was implemented in Brazil[58]. Thus, the provincial governments were in charge of educating the lower social classes but only amongst those considered to be citizens and, therefore, worthy of receiving education.

The first teacher training institution in Brazil was created in Rio de Janeiro in 1835, following the French model of the Normal School.[59] In the following years Normal Schools were created in most of the Brazilian provinces[60]. However, many of these schools were closed due to lack of students or administrative discontinuities in the provinces.[61] It was only after 1870 that the Normal School was consolidated in Brazil,

increasing from four institutions in 1867 to 22 in 1883[62]. A law was passed allowing the Imperial Court to establish Normal Schools and to subsidise provincial institutions. Furthermore, in 1879 the Court designed a curriculum for teacher training based on the positivistic logic of Comte[63]. Only two subjects in this programme (out of 23) were related to pedagogic knowledge, introducing Pestalozzi's intuitive method into the Normal School.[64] This programme then became a model for some provinces[65].

By the end of the Empire (1889) most of the provinces did not have more than one public Normal School (or two if they had one for women and one for men). The course lasted two to four years, in most cases three.[66] Overall, the curricula for Normal Schools did not get to the level of a secondary school. The kind of knowledge transmitted to teachers consisted of the subjects of primary education plus a limited training in teaching methods, offered in a subject called 'Pedagogy' to which, in some cases, 'Educational legislation and administration' was added.[67] An example can be seen in the curriculum of the Normal School in São Paulo: first year – grammar and national language, arithmetic, grammar and French language, and Christian doctrine; second year – grammar and national language, geometry, grammar and French language; third year – geography and history, pedagogy and methodology, and chemistry[68].

Thus, during the Imperial period teacher education in Brazil emphasised academic contents. Trainees spent most of their time in Normal Schools acquiring basic knowledge of the disciplines they had to teach – basically the three Rs and, in some cases, French language, history and geography. In addition, the curricula for Normal Schools emphasised moral contents, but not much time was assigned for the teaching of

didactic methods. Pedagogic knowledge was not considered as important as academic knowledge.

In the limited time that was assigned to pedagogic knowledge, trainees were introduced into the Lancaster method[69] and, later, into Pestalozzi's intuitive method. Meanwhile, messages that promoted the pedagogic identity of teachers depended on each of the provinces. Overall, it can be said that the transmission of certain norms and values such as 'order' and 'civilization' were emphasised as the main role of teachers, rather than the transmission of knowledge.[70] For example, the law that created the Normal School in Rio in 1835 established a set of admission requirements that emphasised the 'moral aptitudes' of candidates: "In order to be admitted into the Normal School candidates should: be Brazilian citizens, at least eighteen years old, with good manners, and they should know how to read and write"[71]. To prove their 'good manners' candidates needed a certificate from the local judge, while their ability in reading and writing was judged by the director of the Normal School.[72]

Another continuity that can be traced in Brazilian education during the Empire was the increasing feminisation of the teaching profession and of teacher education[73]. This affected the kind of 'ideal teacher' that was promoted in Normal Schools and, consequently, the kind of education that was offered to trainees. The teacher's duties started to be seen as an extension of maternal duties, and thus, teaching was perceived as a profession that was destined for women[74].

New subjects especially designed for women, such as 'domestic economy' and

"work with needles", were included in the curricula for Normal Schools[75]. The domestic moved into the Normal School and, in this way, these schools started preparing their pupils not only for teaching, but also for marriage and maternity[76]. As a parallel process to the feminisation of teaching, the performance of teachers started to be controlled by school inspectors. Domestic hierarchy was reproduced in the educational system: although men represented a small proportion of teachers, they obtained the majority of posts as school principals and inspectors in most states [77].

The advent of the Republic did not bring much educational change[78]. In 1900 58.8% of the Brazilian population were considered to be illiterate, by 1920 the proportion was essentially the same (60.1%).[79] The principle of decentralisation was maintained, keeping the responsibility for primary and teacher education in the hands of the states (former provinces)[80]. This resulted in inequalities in how each state organised its educational system.[81]

Although the Federal Government did not participate, changes did happen in teacher education in Brazil between 1889 and 1930. The reforms started in the most economically advanced states, especially in the State of São Paulo, which became the economic centre of the country[82]. The group in power in São Paulo represented the elite that had promoted the Republic. They funded in São Paulo a modern educational system – a sign of progress and modernisation – as part of their strategy to consolidate their hegemony in the federation. This system would soon become a model for the other states in Brazil.[83]

Overall, the Paulista reform was influenced by modern sciences and by Pestalozzi's pedagogy.[84] The curriculum of Normal Schools was extended to four years, with an emphasis on scientific subjects and an encyclopaedic culture.[85] Pedagogic training was still carried out in a single subject – Pedagogy and School Administration, but Model Schools were created as an annexe to Normal Schools. In these new institutions trainees could observe pedagogic practices and learn by imitation[86].

The 'art of teaching' was learnt through observation. Sensory perceptions were emphasised by Pestalozzi's intuitive method which was taught in the Normal Schools[87]. In this way, the Model School became the key institution of the reform. According to Caetano de Campos, the ideologue of the reform, it would be impossible "to be a teacher without having seen how it is done, and without doing it for oneself." [88] Thus, the main strategy to improve the training of teachers consisted of hiring lecturers who had been trained in foreign countries – mainly USA – for the Model Schools, importing modern didactic materials, and constructing 'proper' school buildings – another sign of modernisation and progress.[89]

Another significant change that took place during the 1920s in teacher training in many of the Brazilian states was the creation of the *curso complementar*.[90] This was a post-primary course that gave students a general education and prepared them for the Normal School[91]. In this way, during the 1920s, the idea of separating professional training from the general education of teachers was introduced into Brazil. Furthermore, in some states, in addition to demanding the approval of the *curso complementar* to be admitted into the Normal School, specific teacher training was divided into two cycles: a

three year cycle of general education and a two year professional cycle[92].

Therefore, although the study of pedagogic knowledge was still allocated limited time in the study programmes of the Normal Schools, practice-based training started to be emphasised. In the intuitive method, which had increasingly influenced the meaning that was given to pedagogic knowledge, teaching was considered an 'art' that was better learnt by observation.

However, teachers were not given much autonomy when performing this 'art'. For example, in 1927 a teacher wrote a book called *O calvario de uma professora* [The agony of a teacher]. In the introduction she wrote a letter to the Secretary of the State of São Paulo, in charge of education at those times, saying:

> [The *Paulista* teacher] is the maximum force that boosts the complex mechanism of public instruction. But she is so overwhelmed by her duties...Transformed into a machine she works like a machine and that kind of work is counterproductive. Free her from rigid norms and forced and lengthy programmes that do not follow regional needs. Let her work more freely. Let her be less of a slave, give her a little bit of autonomy in her class or school...Because the personality of the teacher is the most important element in the education of children, she is the one who cooperates the most in the great oeuvre of forming the national character[93].

Catani presents other reports of those times in which teachers made similar complaints[94]. At the same time, in a context in which the government of the new Republic needed legitimacy, the message sent to teachers started to emphasise their role as fundamental agents in the construction of a national identity[95]. However, it is important to note that the Normal Schools were still in control of each of the state governments; thus, this was not a clear and unified message.

Although slavery had been abolished in 1888, the possibility of social mobility was still closed for those in the lower classes, especially non-whites. In this context, the governments did not allocate many efforts or resources to public education. Rather, the strategy that was emphasised to attain the 'civilization' of Brazil was the promotion of European immigration.[96]

Thus, it has been pointed out that both Brazil and Argentina used similar overall strategies to attain their 'civilisation' during this period: immigration and education. Furthermore, teacher education systems in these countries had similar foreign influences, such as positivism and the French Normal School. It should be remembered that, as shown in Chapter Two, these were times when comparativists such as Cousin and Mann aimed their work at building and improving their own educational systems by borrowing the 'most advanced' social technologies that they could find in foreign educational systems.

However, as has been shown, these similar influences resulted in very different patterns in systems of teacher education (and education in general) in Argentina and Brazil. This can be illustrated by looking at the overall characteristics of these educational systems in 1930. Argentina had a highly centralised and consolidated national educational system that had been notably successful in attracting about two-thirds of school-aged population to schools and in promoting a homogeneous national identity. Initial teacher education emphasised the role of teachers as agents of construction of national identity, and the transmission of pedagogic knowledge defined as an instrumental command of teaching methods. In addition, as will be further

explored in the next section, by the 1940s graduates of the Normal Schools in Argentina outnumbered available posts in the educational system[97].

Meanwhile, in Brazil, the educational system was decentralised, resulting in enormous regional disparities in the development of educational systems in the provinces (later states), and approximately two-thirds of the population were illiterate. The education of the masses and the construction of a national identity only started to become a 'national issue' in the 1920s and 1930s. In teacher education, the role of teachers as agents of transmission of certain norms and values such as 'order' and 'civilisation' was emphasised, but this was a dispersed message, since messages that promoted the pedagogic identity of teachers depended on each of the states. The contents that trainees should teach were stressed in Normal Schools, leaving little space for training in pedagogic knowledge. Finally, although there is no available data on the number of graduates from Normal Schools in Brazil in the 1930s, it is clear that Brazil had not achieved at those times the quantitative expansion of teacher education required for its educational system.[98]

These considerable differences in the way that the Normal School, and other 'foundational' foreign influences were interpreted and acted upon, are fundamental to understand how later influences were recontextualized differently as they met diverse contexts in Argentina and Brazil. This will be illustrated by the analysis offered in the next section of how the 'New Education Movement' was interpreted differently in Argentina and in Brazil, resulting once again in very different practical effects.

Escolanovismo: The New Education Movement in Argentina and Brazil (1930-1960)

The inaugural moment of what is known as the 'New Education (or new schools) Movement' was the foundation of the New School of Abbotsholme by Cecil Reddie in 1889. The notion of New Education (*Education nouvelle* or *Reformpädagogik*) was created to designate, "in various parts of the world, the pedagogical and educational revival that appeared at the beginning of the 20th century and gained strength after the First World War"[99]. Adolphe Ferriere, one of the founders of the movement, defined the kind of education promoted as one in which "the experience of the child serves as a base for intellectual education through the appropriate use of manual work and moral education, and through the practice of a system of relative autonomy of students"[100]. Even though in 1920 the *Bureau International des Ecoles Nouvelles* established 30 points that should be followed for an experience to be considered as an authentic 'new school', the 'movement' was interpreted differently in parts of Europe and America, resulting in diverse pedagogical movements, reforms, and new schools that followed a 'child-centred' education, but not necessarily respected the 30 points[101].

It will be argued in this section that these different readings of the 'New Education Movement' happened in Argentina and Brazil, where the influence of this pedagogic movement had very different effects in practice. The peak of the popularity of the movement (1920s-1940s) coincided in Brazil with a 'revolutionary' period in which the 'New Education Movement' was adopted and adapted to become the basis for a

series of official reforms that sought a 'new' Brazilian education. Meanwhile, in Argentina the movement did not permeate into official rhetoric. The 'New Education Movement' was interpreted as a pedagogical proposal that dealt with the details of daily life in schools and was disseminated by private publications.

Escola nova and the education of the masses as a national issue in Brazil

As has been mentioned, by 1930 the social and economic conditions in which the Republic had been established in Brazil had changed. The power of the landowning elite had diminished with the growth of industrialisation, which occurred mainly in São Paulo, but also in Minas Gerais and Rio de Janeiro[102]. This diversification of Brazilian economy away from dependence on agriculture happened largely without government support; since the dominant landowning elite believed that industrialisation was against Brazil's long-term interests[103].

However, industrialisation did expand and the social structure of Brazil was altered. An industrial bourgeoisie was formed, challenging the hegemonic power of the landowning elite[104]. The urban middle classes were strengthened in numbers and political formation, and an organised working class movement began to emerge, experimenting with unions and strikes[105].

Another significant change at those times was a new attitude towards Afro-Brazilians. The strategy of 'whitening' the population that had dominated the early years of the Republic was abandoned. This strategy was based on the elite's acceptance of the

'scientifically-proven' superiority of the white race. Following this belief, the Brazilian elite assumed that by promoting European immigration they could "virtually 'bleach out' the non-white element".[106] On the contrary, from the late 1920s and 1930s, the non-whites – especially those of African origin – started to be seen as a positive factor in Brazilian society.[107]

In this context of change and growing concerns about the creation of a 'modern' nation, racist conceptions were replaced (or at least weakened) by an emphasis on health and education as means for countering the 'backwardness' of non-whites.[108] The construction of a Brazilian Nation that would be a melting pot of whites, blacks and immigrants posed the challenge of 'social regeneration', particularly of those groups that had been traditionally left out of any meaningful social participation. Health and education would become the focus of the strategies employed to produce a 'new Brazilian citizen'[109].

For the first time in Brazilian history the education of the masses became a national issue. Public opinion was alarmed by the results of the census of 1920: the number of illiterates had almost doubled since previous measurements[110]. Educational issues were increasingly gaining in importance in the public agenda. Discussions included themes such as the role of the state in education, the need to expand public schooling, the universal right to education, and the need for a national educational policy[111]. These ideas were expressed in the "*Manifesto dos Pioneiros da Educação Nova*" [Manifesto of the Pioneers of the New School] in 1932[112], and applied in the educational reforms of Teixeira in the Federal District, de Azevedo in São Paulo,

Francisco Campos in Minas, and to some extent in the Brazilian Constitution of 1934[113].

The dominant belief amongst these reformers was that if a new society was wanted, it was not enough to expand the kind of schools that had existed up to that time. These had clearly not been designed for the education of the masses. As Teixeira noted, a complete reformulation of the educational system was necessary:

> Taken by surprise, and without the necessary resources for the new educational enterprise, Brazilian society has not noticed that it would be a negligent alternative to expand the existing educational system to the new ascending social classes. This system, which was designed for the middle and higher classes, was maybe satisfactory for the stabilised, or rather stagnant, society of the 1920s, but is absolutely inadequate for the new social conditions.[114]

A new pedagogic theory was sought, once again, outside of Brazil. The reformists appropriated the movement known as 'New Education'. Missions of European pedagogues were brought to Brazil, while a number of Brazilian educators were sent on study trips to Teachers College, Columbia.[115] For example, in the new School of Philosophy of the University of São Paulo all of the lecturers were foreigners except for one who taught *Tupí* (an indigenous language)[116]. There was an effort to make the international pedagogic discussions available to Brazilian teachers by creating several editorial series which translated foreign texts. In addition, Brazilian scholars often cited authors such as Dewey, Decroly and Ferriere.[117]

The *Escola Nova* movement in Brazil involved a significant rupture with the intuitive method that had dominated pedagogic training in the Normal Schools. While the intuitive method was based on observation as the most significant educational experience for the child, the *Escola Nova* was based on the child's actions. Observation

was still important, but only as a preparation for the child's experimentation. It was the child who constructed his or her knowledge. Learning became more important than teaching, and a new relation between teachers and students was promoted[118]. As a teacher at those times said: "the teacher's role was to 'guide' the 'liberty' of the student so as to guarantee that 'maximum benefits' could be obtained and minimum time and efforts were lost"[119].

The idea was to 'rationalise' the educational processes. Experimental psychology gave scientific support to this theory, and in a context in which the schooling of the masses was sought, the "efficiency" of school practices was considered fundamental. In addition, didactic materials were considered to be essential for the pupil's experimental construction of knowledge[120].

The new method questioned and changed the traditional use of time and space in school. The child's "psychological" interest became the crucial element in deciding the use of school-time and space. A text by de Azevedo in 1930 stated:

> It is not the hour that irremediably fixes the limits of the lesson, it is the psychological need of the awakened interest that the teacher must draw upon, continuing, without time limit, with the subject or work that was being carried out...[121]

Similarly, the use of space within the classroom was altered. The fixed organisation of desks in rows was displaced by an approach that emphasised group-work and the organisation of the classroom according to the different "projects" undertaken by the students.[122]

Not only did the *Escola Nova* pedagogy enter teacher training institutions, but the structure of the Normal Schools was also reformed. Normal Schools were increasingly being criticised for being "badly equipped secondary schools for girls"[123]. Teixeira referred to the "constitutional vice" of the Normal Schools, which pretended to be at the same time academic and professional schools, failing in both objectives. In the new vision, Normal Schools should abandon their academic ambitions and concentrate on the professional training of teachers:

> If the normal school is really an institution aimed at the professional preparation of the teacher, all its courses must pursue the specific character required by the teaching profession.[124]

The first cycle (academic) of teacher education was extended into a five-year course which was made equivalent to secondary education. Meanwhile, the professional cycle was completely reformulated and became the *Escola de Professores*.[125] In the curriculum of the *Escola de Professores* a new 'scientific' and 'experimental' approach to teacher education was sought. Emphasis was placed on teaching methods, the learning process and on the 'Educational Sciences', especially Psychology, Sociology, and Biology[126]. The 'contents to be taught' were displaced from the curriculum of teacher training, a significant rupture with previous teacher education in Brazil[127].

In addition, more time was allocated for practice-based training. The Normal School of the Federal District was transformed into an Institute of Education which consisted of four schools. As mentioned above, the *Escola de Professores* provided pedagogic training. Meanwhile, the *Escola Secondaria*, *Escola Primaria* and *Jardim-da-Infancia* [kindergarten] were used as fields of experimentation, demonstrations and practice for future teachers. A similar process occurred in São Paulo, and by 1940 in

several other states[128].

The style of practice-based training was also changed. No longer should trainees take part in 'model lessons' in which they only observed what a 'model teacher' was doing, taking his or her practice as a given recipe that should be followed[129]. As Lourenço Filho, Director of the *Escola de Professores* in the Federal District, noted:

> ...teaching is precisely a "practice", a "technique", an "art". Because in teaching one has to "know how to do", not simply "know how to say"...One learns how to do something by doing it. Thus, if we want to train teachers, we need to put them in real teaching situations, in front of real classes, living real experiences[130].

Thus, with the *Escola Nova* movement a new meaning was given to pedagogic knowledge. The child constructed his or her own knowledge through experimentation and with the guidance of the teacher. Pedagogic knowledge and practice-based training dominated the curriculum of teacher education displacing academic contents. At the same time this new vision of pedagogic knowledge that emphasised experimentation gave teachers more autonomy to structure their work according to the interests of the students. In addition, future teachers were given the opportunity to experiment with real classes, constructing their own pedagogic knowledge during practice-based training.

The importance assigned to pedagogic knowledge was so strong, that it even influenced the meaning that was given to the concept of pedagogic identity. Within the new attitude towards non-whites, the role assigned to teachers was to collaborate with the progress of the country by civilising the masses, inculcating "work habits" [131] and a Brazilian identity[132] amongst them. However, it was not through external discipline that the new "Brazilian citizen" had to be created. On the contrary, individual development

had to occur from "the inside to the outside"[133]. In other words, the change in attitude should not be imposed. The masses had to be guided, but they had to decide themselves that their attitudes had to change.

Another issue included in the educational agenda of Brazil in the 1940s was a growing concern for the lack of a central regulation that would guarantee a common base for the systems of teacher education of the different states[134]. The *Lei Organica do Ensino Normal* was passed in 1946 aiming at the uniformity of teacher training practices in the Brazilian territory. Even though some months later a new Constitution returned to the principle of decentralisation that had always characterised Brazilian education, the *Lei Organica* was taken as a model to reorganise Normal Schools in most states.[135] In this way, the *Lei Organica* contributed to the consolidation of similar patterns of teacher education in all Brazilian states. Although São Paulo and Bahia did not follow the federal model, their teacher training system did not differ significantly from those of the other states.[136] The *Lei Organica* did not bring about major changes to teacher training, but rather consolidated the patterns that were already present in several states.

However, one important change was the division of teacher training into two levels, since this division institutionalised regional inequalities in teacher education. The first level consisted of four years of study after primary school, it took place in Regional Normal Schools, and would form "regents for primary teaching"[137]. The second level was offered in traditional Normal Schools and Institutes of Education, and lasted for three years after finishing the first level or graduating from secondary school. Primary teachers graduated from this level.[138] The curriculum of the first level was mainly

academic with only two 'professional' disciplines in the last year: psychology and pedagogy, and didactics and teaching practice[139]. The second level included some academic subjects in the first years, but devoted the other two years only to the "foundations of education", methodology, and teaching practice[140]. The motives for such a qualitative distinction, expressed in the law itself, were the "economic and cultural differences amongst the various regions of the country"[141].

Thus, there was a major contradiction between the aim of the *Lei Organica* – uniformity of teacher training practices in Brazil – and the division of teacher education into two levels. Although the characteristics introduced by the *Escola Nova* movement were mostly maintained in the Normal Schools and Institutes of Education, the Regional Normal Schools returned to a curriculum based on academic subjects with a limited amount of time allocated to the study of pedagogic knowledge. Two different categories of teacher education were created, and the downgraded teacher education took place *de facto* in the most disadvantaged areas of Brazil. In this way, regional inequalities were institutionalised in teacher education: teachers in the most advantaged areas were given an education of higher quality than those in the most economically disadvantaged regions.

Meanwhile, the growing national concern with the massification of the educational system and teacher education resulted in a significant quantitative expansion of teacher training institutions, especially based on private initiative[142]. However, the quantitative expansion of teacher training institutions was also extremely uneven. Out of the 546 Normal Schools that existed in Brazil in 1951, 258 were located in two states:

Minas and São Paulo. At the same time, states such as Maranhao, Sergipe and Rio Grande do Norte had only two Normal Schools each[143].

Thus, shifts in patterns of teacher education reflected changes in the social structure of Brazil. During the times of the slave society, teacher education did not even reach the level of secondary education, and pedagogic training was almost non-existent. With the Republic, and abolition, changes in teacher education started to happen, but only in the most advanced states, where increasing industrialisation started to open up the social structure. Then, the *Escola Nova* movement responded to a new vision of society, in which the masses – after being 'civilised' – were going to be given the opportunity for meaningful participation in society. Finally social and economic regional disparities were institutionalised in teacher education in Brazil with the two different levels of teacher education established by the *Lei Organica* in 1946.

The 'New Education Movement' was adopted in Brazil in several official reforms that were implemented since the late 1920s. This pedagogic movement was associated with a 'revolutionary period' in Brazilian education in which the massification of basic education was sought. Brazil was faced with the challenge to structure its educational system and, in this context, the 'New Education Movement' was read as a foreign influence that established the bases of the Brazilian teacher education systems. This foreign influence moved into a weak *Normalist* culture. Meanwhile in Argentina, the educational system had been (and was still being) very successful in attaining the homogenisation of the population by fostering a national identity. Thus, the influence of the 'New Education Movement' was weak (especially at

the level of official rhetoric).

Peronism and anti-positivistic influence in teacher education in Argentina

The 'New Education Movement' in Argentina was interpreted in recent literature as a pedagogic movement that used a very different strategy to promote educational change when compared with the traditional way in which educational change was sought in Argentina – mainly thinking of the state as the central agent of change, while considering the school as a 'black box' that would readily respond to changes in legislation[144]. Consequently, Narodowski notes that the 'New Education Movement' has not been given much consideration in Argentine historiography which has been mainly concerned with the analysis of 'hegemonic' discourses – defined as those discourses that influenced legislative reform. When 'New Education' did call the attention of some historians, it was not considered as a movement in itself, but rather as part of the "anti-positivistic reaction" that – as will be further explored – did permeate into official rhetoric[145].

The lack of influence of the 'New Education Movement' on official rhetoric can be partly explained by the specific combination of social and educational changes that were taking place in Argentina during the highest peak of popularity of this movement (1920s – 1940s).

The social structure of Argentina was deeply modified between 1880 and 1920[146]. By 1895, the middle class, which was almost non-existent before 1860,

represented 35% of the population of the City of Buenos Aires[147] – a shift rooted in the massive arrival of European immigrants during the second half of the nineteenth century. In addition, the spread of encyclopaedic education that prepared secondary students for administrative posts in the government or for staying in university – and later moving to a political career – meant that the middle classes started to have access to higher education, and then to demand participation in the country's political life, disputing the power of the ruling elite[148].

The university became one of the arenas for the increasing class struggle. The middle classes continued to press for the democratisation of higher education and enrolments in the university grew rapidly during the first years of the twentieth century (by 362% from 1893 to 1918)[149]. In 1918 the students of the University of Cordoba started a strike which resulted in the Cordoba Reform[150].

The reform, by promoting a more democratic education, changed many aspects of the Argentine university. Nevertheless, its fundamental role – to educate an elite for political action – was not altered[151]. Different actors – the middle classes – now controlled the university. However, it was encyclopaedic education that had opened the opportunity for the middle classes to gain access to power, and they were not willing to abandon that kind of education. In order to consolidate their version of democracy, the middle classes aimed their policies at guaranteeing democratisation of access to institutions which allowed for social mobility, but they never questioned the institutions themselves, nor did they review the country's economic policies[152].

Thus, this overview of the 'revolution' that took place in Argentine universities, reflecting the enormous social and political changes that took place in society at large, also helps to understand why teacher education remained unchanged during such an unstable period. The middle classes that started to challenge the hegemonic power of the landowning elite did not review the educational system, they rather aimed their educational policies at maintaining the existing configuration of the system, hoping that it would allow for greater social mobility.

Having no space in official rhetoric, the 'New Education Movement' was interpreted in Argentina as a pedagogic movement that proposed changes at the level of daily life in schools and, therefore, as a set of ideas that were better spread through private publications aimed at teachers[153]. It is difficult to assess the success of this strategy[154]. Nevertheless, what is clear is that the adoption and adaptation of the 'New Education Movement' in Argentina was very different when compared to Brazil, where this movement had a strong influence on state-centred educational reforms and on curricula for teacher education.

It was only in 1943, with the arrival of Peron to power, that an attempt was made to change teacher education in Argentina. The curricular reform of 1943 in teacher education responded to another rupture in social, economic and political structures. These changes started with the world economic crisis in 1930, which resulted in the collapse of the agro-exporting model that had sustained the Argentine economy[155], and were consolidated between 1943 and 1955. During this period, new actors emerged in the Argentine political scene: the industrial bourgeoisie and the industrial working

class.[156]

Under the leadership of these groups, amongst others, the Peronist government re-introduced democratic elections, gave women the right to vote, and developed a version of a welfare state[157]. Social justice, economic independence and political sovereignty were the slogans of a regime with a clear national project in which education was ascribed major importance[158].

The Peronist government aimed at the redistribution of education amongst the different social groups through a dramatic increase in enrolments, especially at the secondary level and at the university, where enrolments were doubled and tripled respectively.[159] There was massive construction and improvement of school buildings, the education budget was significantly augmented and for the first time in Argentine history a separate Ministry of Education was created.[160]

Meanwhile, teacher education did not receive so much attention as in the previous period, which accounted for a permanent increase in enrolments and institutions. On the contrary, access to the Normal Schools was restricted, some sections of these institutions were closed, and authorisation for some private institutions was withdrawn.[161] However, this was not due to the lack of interest of the Peronist government in teacher education, but rather due to the fact that there was an excess of graduates from the Normal Schools and many teachers were unemployed at that time.[162]

New ideological references were sought for teacher education. The crisis

experienced by the countries that had been used as models up to that time – France, England and USA – resulted in a shift towards Italy and Germany as models[163]. There was a reaction against positivism in official discourse.[164] An example can be seen in the introductory text to the new study plans for teacher education in 1948:

> The positivistic orientation that predominated in our middle school since its origins overestimated natural-scientific knowledge while undervaluing the spiritual disciplines that tend to the integral development of personality...[165]

A new theory of education emerged. Starting from the distinction between the spiritual and the material orders, education was considered to be external to scientific knowledge, it was perceived instead as an object of philosophical knowledge. There was a strong reaction against the scientific and methodological orientations of previous pedagogies, and this was expressed in reforms of the study plans and programs of the Normal Schools.[166]

The reforms were implemented in a progressive way, thus although they started in 1943, they were only completed by 1946. The study plan was extended from four to five years, using most of the extended time for theoretical subjects. Consequently the proportion of time allocated to these subjects increased even though the time for practical and methodological subjects was not altered[167].

Two of the most significant changes in these new study plans were the introduction of special subjects dedicated exclusively to the study of 'Argentine issues'[168], and a shift in what was understood as pedagogic knowledge.[169] As has been mentioned, the programmes of 'pedagogy' until 1943 were based on the instrumental

use of teaching methods. After 1943, the programmes of 'pedagogy' promoted a theoretical reflection on educational processes. Pedagogic knowledge was distanced from biology and brought closer to philosophy. It was included within 'spiritual knowledge' in the division made by anti-positivistic theories[170].

However, after analysing the bibliography that was used in the Normal Schools at that time, Gvirtz notes that these changes that were expressed in the curriculum did not permeate into actual practice[171]. Many of the books that were used had been written before the reform. Even in those that were written after the reform, although the authors made an explicit effort to declare their positions against positivism – defining education as a spiritual activity – these positions dilute at deeper levels of analysis. Many authors referred to tests and the construction of typologies, which are closer to the biological model of pedagogic knowledge than to the philosophical one; and the influence of innovative scientific knowledge at that time was quite clear.[172]

In other disciplines, changes in the programmes were not as noticeable, and there was continuity in the positivistic influence in the bibliography. For example, although after 1943 psychology was explicitly defined as a branch of philosophy, one of the text books used in the Normal Schools characterised it in the following way:

> We must not forget that psychology is an empiric science, that is, a science based on observations and experiences, that aspires to determine laws...The educator must know the laws that rule the minds of his students.[173]

Therefore, the study plans introduced between 1943 and 1955 represented significant discontinuities in the kind of education that was promoted for teachers at the level of official rhetoric. Especially there was a significant rupture in the meaning that was given

to pedagogic knowledge. However, at the level of practice there was continuity in the kind of knowledge that was transmitted to teachers in their initial training, and the influence of positivism was still strong. Furthermore, although the content of the message was different – Peronist doctrine – the political motif still predominated in the pedagogic identity that was promoted, and teachers were still expected to be the executors of very detailed instructions defined by their superiors in a hierarchical structure[174].

Thus, the 'New Education Movement' was transformed significantly and differently as it moved into the Argentine and Brazilian educational systems. Socio-political changes in Brazil were reflected in an educational 'revolution' that aimed at transforming the whole educational system. In this context, *Escolanovismo* was read as a 'foundational' pedagogic movement that encountered a weak *Normalist* tradition as it moved into Brazil. The movement was adopted in several educational reforms, it was captured by publishing companies, and it entered schools and the curricula for teacher education, affecting the meaning that was given to concepts of pedagogic identity, pedagogic knowledge, and curricular control.

Within the new attitude towards non-whites, the message of the state promoted amongst teachers in Brazil a pedagogic identity in which the role assigned to teachers was to collaborate with the progress of the country by civilising the masses, promoting 'work habits' and a Brazilian identity. In the new meaning given to pedagogic knowledge the child constructed his or her own knowledge through experimentation and with the guidance of the teacher. Pedagogic knowledge and practice-based training

dominated the curriculum of teacher education displacing academic contents. Future teachers experimented with real classes, constructing their own pedagogic knowledge during practice-based training. At the same time, this new vision of pedagogic knowledge that emphasised experimentation affected the notion of curricular control, giving teachers more autonomy to structure their work according to the interests of the students.

Meanwhile, in Argentina, socio-political changes mostly affected the university, but as the middle classes arrived to power they did not review other levels of the educational system. Thus, the 'New Education Movement' did not influence official rhetoric, but it was rather promoted through other strategies – private publications for teachers – to promote educational change. It was anti-positivistic theories that moved into official rhetoric, triggering a reform of the curriculum for teacher education. However, as these new ideas moved from policies into practice they met a strong *Normalist* tradition (with its positivistic base) that survived the reform. Thus, in Normal Schools in Argentina the meaning given to notions of pedagogic identity, pedagogic knowledge, and curricular control was not significantly changed.

The message of the Argentine State still defined the pedagogic identity of teachers as the agents that would unite the population and legitimise the power of the central state; although the content of the message was now different: Peronist doctrine. In the meaning given to curricular control teachers continued to be seen as obedient executors of a series of detailed instructions designed by the state, having no participation in decisions related to the contents of lessons. Finally, even though the

meaning given to pedagogic knowledge changed at the level of the official curriculum, it did not change significantly at the level of practices. It was still defined as an instrumental command of teaching methods.

Desarrollismo: Developmental and technocratic views in Argentina and Brazil

This section will present the last of the three major influences on Argentine and Brazilian educational systems analysed in this chapter. When compared with the other two sets of influence analysed, the particularity of *Desarrollismo* is that it was mainly promoted by international agencies, as they emerged as fundamental actors in the educational field in the late 1950s – once the reconstruction of Europe was attained and they re-oriented their efforts towards the 'development' of the world.

It should be kept in mind that this new role of international agencies coincides with a period in the field of comparative education that was analysed by Cowen as a period in which no theorising occurred: "That is, what passed as theorizing was the construction of a strong methodological discourse, and methodological schools"[175]. The theme of 'culture' was subordinated to discussions about scientific methods. Thus, "with the exception of the multicultural issue, culture was not problematized in terms of the political universe"[176]. It was a time in which studies of comparative education were dominated by an "intellectual and political confidence that being a lender was a benign act, and that being a borrower was not too dangerous if money and good consultancy advice was available"[177]. Furthermore, this confidence was reinforced some years later with analyses such as the one offered by Noah and Eckstein in 1969 that defined the

initial efforts of international agencies as being in an advanced position in the fictional scale created by their belief in a linear progression towards a scientifically legitimated comparative education: "The work of these organizations is in the hand of specialists. Thus, what began as philanthropy has ended with professionalism"[178]

It will be suggested in this section that the movement of developmental and technocratic views into the Argentine and Brazilian educational systems in the late 1950s and 1960s did not depend so much on specific local conditions (as seen in *Normalismo* and *Escolanovismo*). These views were rather a universal 'recipe' (with educational planning as their paradigmatic social technology) that was promoted as the solution to a large number of educational problems in most educational context. Thus, it will be argued that in Argentina and in Brazil the influence of *Desarrollismo* was strong and similar at the level of official rhetoric.

Developmental and technocratic views in Argentina

The next period of discontinuity in the curricula for teacher training in Argentina took place between 1956 – after the fall of Peron – and 1973. The reforms that were implemented during this period were characterised by an ideological stress on eliminating all influence of Peronism from Argentine society[179], and by the introduction of developmental and technocratic theories promoted by international agencies.

Education started to be justified in economic terms, as a means for the training of 'human resources'[180]. The final aim of education – as stated in official rhetoric – was to

attain the development of the country. Development was seen as a linear process in which different preconceived stages had necessarily to be passed in order to shift from a traditional to an industrialised society[181]. This was seen as the guarantee of a better future.

Following this technical rationality, the concept of educational planning was introduced as a fundamental social technology for development, which would guarantee the prediction and solution of a wide range of social, economic and political problems[182]. The use of standardised diagnostic tests, followed by strategic planning and the implementation of technical solutions were seen as the most neutral and rational way of making decisions[183].

'Planning and Development' were the governing words. In 1966 President Ongania presented the "Directives for the Planning and Development of the Government's Actions", suggesting the following aims:

> To rationalise the whole Argentine educational system, clearly setting its aims and objectives...It is in the difference between the real requirements of modern life, the process of industrialisation that is taking place in the country and the lack of evolution of our education in all its levels that the causes of the feeling of frustration currently existent in Argentina can be found.[184]

The emphasis on planning and development had been promoted by international agencies in Latin America since the 1950s. UNESCO and OEA (*Organización de Estados Americanos*) organised a "Conference of Ministers of Education" in Lima in 1956, there was an "Inter-American Seminar of Integral Planning" held in Washington in 1958, and in that same year UNESCO organised the "Inter-American Conference on

Education and Economic and Social Development".[185] UNESCO also edited a series of educational texts in Argentina during the 1960s in an effort to connect pedagogic themes with social and economic development[186]. Similarly, in 1964, OECD published a study called "Education, human resources and economic development" in collaboration with the National Council for Development, which had been established in 1961[187].

The notion of curriculum was introduced in Argentine education, replacing the idea of 'study plans' or programmes. In addition to the lists of subjects and contents in the traditional study plans, this new concept included a design that prescribed other dimensions related to the activities that took place in classrooms. A 1970 textbook for primary teachers explains the difference:

> Before: programmes (...organised in subjects, do not introduce the student into sociological reality, do not foster creativity nor group work aimed at the interests of the students...); now: curriculum (...group of activities that the student carries out that not only includes contents, but also objectives, activities, experiences, resources, an equilibrium between humanities and sciences, integration into areas, control and permanent adjustments...). The change is brought about by great forces that are external to our will, to reject it is to live in a fictitious space and time and to educate men for bygone times.[188]

With the notion of curriculum, the division of labour in the Argentine educational system was intensified, separating the experts – planners, evaluators, and supervisors – from the executors. In this view, teachers were seen as technicians, who had to apply in practice what had been prescribed by the experts in the curriculum[189]. Thus, the (external) position of the teacher in relation to scientific knowledge was not only maintained, but it was reinforced, since it was now legitimated by the unobjectionable social technologies that had been incorporated.

The fascination with educational planning was based on the expectation of predictability, which would be attained through an efficient definition of the objectives and the means, and a strict control of the steps that should be taken. Any deviation in this 'input-output' model was attributed to a mistake in the execution of the plan[190]. That is, it was attributed to teachers. Thus, following the recommendations of international agencies[191], the 'professionalisation' of the teaching force was considered to be fundamental.

The first step taken in that direction was to upgrade teacher education from secondary to higher education[192]. In this way, as Davini notes, the intention of upgrading the intellectual, pedagogic, and cultural education of teachers was absorbed by the technocratic logic[193].

In the curricular reforms that were implemented, the meaning that was given to the concept of curricular control defined teachers as technicians that should be as efficient as possible in transmitting certain knowledge that was produced by the experts for school.[194] In addition, the didactic methods and techniques that had to be used for transmitting this knowledge were also given to teachers, excluding them from any participation in these matters[195]. Once again, teachers were not expected to be autonomous or creative, but rather obedient executors of other people's plans.

New subjects were introduced into the curriculum which, in its successive reforms of 1970, 1972 and 1973, increasingly tended towards an emphasis on technical subjects, such as 'Planning, execution, and evaluation of learning' and 'School

Organisation and Administration'[196]. Meanwhile, general disciplines – including philosophy – were displaced from the study plans. It was in the secondary school that future teachers were expected to obtain their general education.[197]

A similar technocratic orientation was followed in the introduction of contents related to 'special didactics' for different disciplines[198]. The idea was that teachers could be trained to teach every discipline included in the curriculum. These were Language, Literature, Mathematics, Biological Sciences, Physics and Chemistry, Social Sciences, Music, Art, and Physical Education.[199]

This reveals that pedagogic knowledge was perceived as a question of methods, by learning the 'specific didactics' of each discipline teachers were qualified to teach these subjects. On the other hand, it reinforces the idea that initial teacher training should emphasise the transmission of an instrumental command of didactic methods. An idea that survived all curricular reforms since the creation of Normal Schools.

Along these lines, the bibliography used in teacher training was invaded by themes such as "planning, objective evaluation of performance, instructional resources, micro-teaching, programmed instruction, audiovisual teaching, [and] group teaching techniques"[200]. Education was defined as a question of means. In terms of the aims of education, the themes that predominated were modernisation, social change, education and development, and the training of human resources.[201]

However, Southwell notes that the technocratic paradigm did not have such a

strong impact on the actual education that future teachers received[202]. The *Normalist* culture and its positivistic theoretical base – which had survived 100 years – were still strong in teacher training institutions. The technocratic views advocated at the level of official rhetoric by the Ministry of Education – following proposals from international agencies – had to coexist with the existing culture[203].

Thus, the changes that took place during this period had two major consequences. In the first place the technocratic logic reinforced the division of labour in the educational system, consolidating the distinction between those that plan the educational processes and those who execute them. Although previous traditions had not granted much autonomy to teachers, the lack of autonomy was increased and scientifically legitimated in this period. Furthermore, at least the *Normalist* culture had assigned a certain degree of social prestige to teachers, but in the new technocratic logic the prestige of the 'executors of orders' faded away[204]. Secondly, and closely related to the division of labour, there was the increasing bureaucratisation of the educational system. This implied more external control on schools and teacher training institutions[205].

However, developmental and technocratic theories were not uncontested. At the beginning of the 1970s pedagogic theories that criticised technical rationality were emerging in Latin America, influenced by authors such as Freire and Illich, amongst others[206]. However, the inclusion of these views in teacher training institutions depended on the decisions of individual lecturers, maintaining a marginal position in the education of teachers. Furthermore, these 'libratory' views were interrupted with the violent

military dictatorship that started in 1976.[207]

The objective of the dictatorship was to discipline Argentine society, reinstalling the values of order, and respect for hierarchies and authority. However, with five ministers of education from 1976 to 1982, the different leaders of the regime did not agree on a clear project for education. Rather, as Tedesco notes, what was common amongst the different postures was that which they wanted to destroy.[208]

In this context, the educational policies of the military government were characterised by strong ideological control. This was done through the expulsion of teachers, controlling the curriculum contents and the activities of students and parents, and by regulating the physical appearance of both teachers and pupils[209].

The military dictatorship's view on teachers and their profession also stressed a hierarchical division of labour in the educational system. As can be seen by a directive of the Sub-Secretariat of Education in 1978:

> Teachers will not intervene in the design of objectives and contents. It is necessary to accept, once and for all, that the role of teachers consists on educating, and that teachers should not be distracted from this task with interventions that lack major effects ... This task will be left in the hands of the hierarchical personnel of the central organisations[210].

Teachers were divided into different hierarchic categories and the bureaucratic control on their work was augmented[211]. These policies resulted in increasing bureaucratisation of the educational system, while participation of teachers, students and parents in decision-making was diminished[212].

Although a new curriculum for teacher training was designed in 1981, this was only implemented in a reduced number of Normal Schools. The reform, which was supposed to gradually extend into other schools, was cancelled by the democratic government in 1984. The curriculum of 1973 was reinstalled at that time.[213]

Thus, the overall *Normalist* traditions and the positivistic theoretical base that sustained them survived the reforms that were implemented between 1955 and 1984. This does not mean that teacher education was unchanged during this period. New views were introduced, but these had to coexist with the strong institutional culture that had developed in the Normal Schools since their origins.

During this period there was a tendency to increase the division of labour in the educational system by gradually reducing the autonomy of teachers (which was not high anyway), increasing the bureaucracy, and expanding the hierarchical structure, in which teachers occupied the lowest rank. The new meaning given to curricular control with the introduction of the notion of 'curriculum' was fundamental in this process. The curriculum was defined as a more detailed and all-embracing document that teachers had to follow strictly. In addition, this external position of teachers with respect to the contents they had to transmit was legitimised by the fact that 'scientific' experts now designed the curriculum.

Also as a consequence of the introduction of the technocratic rationale, teacher education was upgraded to higher education, and the emphasis in teacher training institutions shifted from moral education to training in didactic methods. However, as

has been mentioned, giving teachers an instrumental command of didactic methods was already one of the principal aims of the Normal Schools since their foundation. Thus, although the study of pedagogy was assigned more time, pedagogic knowledge was still defined as a question of methods.

Finally, one of the most significant changes that can be observed in this view over time of teacher education in Argentina is that the clear state project of building the Argentine modern Nation, which promoted amongst teachers a clear pedagogic identity, was replaced by another unequivocal project with the advent of *Peronism*. However, after 1955, the leadership of the state and its vision of the future increasingly weakened as a result of political instabilities. It was at this time that the message of the state incorporated economic motifs – that coexisted with the political – in the pedagogic identity promoted to teachers. However, this message was not as strong, and its definition of the pedagogic identity of teachers was less clear.

Developmental and technocratic views in Brazil

With the presidency of Kubitschek (1955-1961) and his plan to build a strong economy based on industries, developmental theories were consolidated in Brazil. Kubitschek's slogan was '50 years of progress in five', and his main strategies were central planning and overseas financial assistance[214]. Brazil moved closer to the USA, which was seen as a positive influence for the country's development. This link, and the dominance of developmental theories, were continued and even intensified during the military government that came to power in 1964[215]. For example, the Ambassador of the

USA in Brasilia during the 1970s noted that North American overall foreign investment had increased 82% from 1970 to 1976. During that same period, North American investment in Brazil had gone up by 254%.[216]

However, assistance from the USA to Brazil was not only financial. In 1965 the Brazilian federal authorities who were in charge of planning education noted that one of the obstacles for the development of Brazilian education was the lack of training of the bureaucrats of the educational system for the design and execution of 'educational plans'. Consequently, they suggested that "the orientation and advice from North American consultants, who have an ample experience in planning state education, will be of great value in the correction of such deficiencies".[217]

A number of agreements for "advisory services" and "technical assistance" were signed between Brazil and USAID[218]. The main objective of these links was to train Brazilian bureaucrats in the techniques of evaluation, efficient administration, and especially in educational planning, which – as in Argentina – was considered to be the fundamental social technology for educational development.[219] A number of Brazilian educators were sent to the Universities of Wisconsin and San Diego, and they were expected, on their return to Brazil, to transmit their newly acquired techniques to their colleagues.[220] These close links between the two countries also resulted in Brazil adopting the US model of the Comprehensive High School[221]. Similarly, the US university model was implemented in Brazil.[222]

Thus, planning and development were the governing words in Brazilian

education, and human capital theory dominated pedagogic discussions. However, these influences did not only come from the USA. As has been said, international agencies, such as UNESCO, OEA and CEPAL (*Comision Economica para America Latina*) were also promoting these points of view through a number of inter-American conferences.[223]

The influence of the US on teacher education started as early as 1957 with an agreement aimed at training lecturers of the Normal Schools. A pilot centre was established in Belo Horizonte, which was visited by teacher educators from all over the country[224]. Emphasis was placed on transferring social technologies such as supervision and the use of curricula, and the 'latest' didactic methods that were used in the USA. It was the use of the 'proper' techniques and methods that was seen as the solution for the 'problems' of Brazilian schools.[225]

Some curricular changes in teacher training resulted from the first *Lei de Diretrizes e Bases da Educação Nacional* that was passed in 1961. This law established the equivalence of all the different modalities of secondary education, including Normal Schools. Consequently, general academic disciplines were introduced once again into the curricula of Normal Schools[226]. In addition, some new technical subjects were introduced, such as 'School Administration'. Overall, the professional part of the curriculum for teacher training consisted of the foundations of education (psychology, biology, sociology, history and philosophy of education), didactic methods and teaching practice[227].

Emphasis, both in the literature and in curricula, was placed on the 'means' to

'modernise' teaching practices through planning, coordination, and the use of new teaching technologies – especially audiovisual resources.[228] The aim was to enhance the "efficiency and productivity" of the Brazilian school, with the ultimate objective of attaining the economic development of the country. As in Argentina, the division of labour within the educational system was intensified, and 'specialists' started to be trained in pedagogic courses in the universities[229].

Thus, the meaning given to pedagogic knowledge in teacher education in Brazil shifted once again. Pedagogic knowledge was now seen as a question of techniques, and emphasis was placed on using the 'latest' didactic methods imported from the US and applying new technologies to the teaching process. In addition, pedagogic knowledge was displaced from its privileged position in the curriculum when academic contents were once again introduced into teacher education.

Economic development became the ultimate aim of education, and – as in Argentina – the economic motif was introduced into the messages that sought to define the pedagogic identity of teachers. Finally, with the transfer of social technologies such as planning and curriculum, the division of labour was strengthened in Brazilian education. Educational 'experts' returned from their study trips abroad – and increasingly started to graduate from Brazilian universities – and were placed in a higher position than teachers in the labour hierarchy.

A new reform was implemented in 1971. The organisation of teacher education and the Normal School itself were severely affected. The traditional Normal School lost

its status as a school and it became one of the many professional options within secondary education – Specific Certification for Teaching (HEM).[230] This fragmentation of teacher education resulted in an increase in the bureaucratisation of the system, and in the introduction of specific disciplines for each educational level. In addition, in the HEM, subjects specifically related to pedagogic knowledge were allocated less time[231]. Different authors who analysed this reform agree in pointing out that the Normal School lost its identity during this period, it was "emptied" and "destroyed", and replaced by a "new pattern that is in almost every aspect incompetent".[232]

Following criticisms of the new scheme, in the 1980s there were a series of initiatives – both at the national and at the regional states level – aimed at the "revitalization of the Normal School"[233]. However, these projects were not very successful and in many cases were not completed. The difficulties in implementing these kind of initiatives can partly be explained by the administrative discontinuity in the Federal Ministry of Education, in which five different Ministers were appointed between 1985 and 1989.[234]

Thus, the influence of international agencies (and of the US in the case of Brazil) resulted in similarities at the level of official rhetoric in Argentina and Brazil. In both countries the economic motif was introduced into the message that defined the role of teachers as trainers of human resources with the ultimate aim of attaining the 'development' of their countries. The meaning assigned to the notion of pedagogic knowledge also changed as teaching was seen as a question of techniques, and emphasis was placed on using the 'latest' didactic methods and applying new technologies to the

teaching process. Similarly, with the introduction of social technologies such as 'educational planning' and 'curriculum' there was a tendency to increase the bureaucracy and division of labour in the educational system. In the new meaning given to curricular control with the introduction of the notion of 'curriculum' the external position of teachers with respect to the contents they had to transmit was legitimised by the fact that 'scientific' experts now designed the curriculum.

Conclusion

It has been shown in this chapter that both Brazil and Argentina have had similar foreign influences affecting the way in which their teacher education systems were constructed and developed. However, these similar influences were interpreted differently, resulting in particular patterns in systems of teacher education (and education in general) in these two countries.

In the first two sections of this chapter that analysed the influences of *Normalismo* and *Escolanovismo* it was clear how trajectories of teacher education reflected (and at the same time contributed to) changes in Argentine and Brazilian societies at large. Socio-political variations between these two countries resulted in different interpretations of *Normalist* influences. These considerable differences in the way that the Normal School was interpreted and acted upon, help us to understand how later influences were recontextualized differently as they met diverse contexts in Argentina and Brazil. This was illustrated by the analysis offered about how the 'New Education Movement' was interpreted in Argentina and in Brazil, resulting in very

different practical effects.

This clear relation between socio-political characteristics and the way in which each of these countries appropriated foreign influences to construct their teacher education systems diminished with the last of the foreign influences that was analysed: *Desarrollismo.*

When the Argentine elite decided in the late nineteenth century that they would construct an educational system as a strategy to homogenise the population and legitimise the power of the central state, they found a clear problem within their plan: the need to train teachers that could transmit this unifying culture. They appropriated the French model of the Normal School that had been used in post-revolution France and had moved to many parts of the world. Meanwhile in Brazil, where there was no clear project to unify the population under a homogenising culture, similar influences were weak and dispersed.

Similarly, when socio-political changes in 1930s Brazil resulted in the education of the masses becoming a national issue, those in charge of educational policies conceptualised the problem as the need to have a complete reformulation of the educational system that was considered as inadequate for the new social conditions. They found the 'solution' in the 'New Education Movement' that was at the peak of its international popularity at the time. Consequently, the 'New Education Movement' was used as the basis for a number of official reforms in Brazil. However, in Argentina, where the educational system was consolidated and no reformulation of the system was

sought, the 'New Education Movement' was ignored at the official level.

Thus, in both cases the appropriation and adaptation of foreign influences depended significantly on specific socio-political and educational circumstances in each of these countries. Consequently, these processes of educational transfer fit into the 'trans-national interpretation of educational transfer' identified in Chapter Two of this thesis in which: (1) a local problem was identified; (2) solutions were sought in foreign educational systems; and (3) a 'tested' social technology (that had worked or was believed to have worked) was adapted to the new context and then implemented. (4) These processes occurred in a chronological order as described above.

However, the 'transfer' of developmental and technocratic views into Argentina and Brazil does not fit into the above interpretation. It is not so clear that developmental and technocratic views were incorporated in Argentina and Brazil as a result of identified internal needs. Rather, the simultaneity and similarity in how these influences were incorporated at the official level in these countries suggests that it was international agencies that read the Argentine and Brazilian educational systems as lacking 'development'. As a result, international agencies promoted educational planning and other social technologies as a universal solution for a number of educational problems in these (and other) contexts.

Thus, some shifts that make the work of international agencies different from trans-national patterns of educational transfer start to become apparent with the promotion of developmental and technocratic views.

The first, and most obvious, shift away from trans-national patterns of educational transfer is that transfer does not take place from one educational system to another, but from international agencies to specific educational systems. As has been said in Chapter Two, the distinctiveness of international agencies when compared with other actors in the educational field is that they do not act upon a particular educational context, they are abstracted from educational practice, and this has some significant consequences. International agencies do not seek to solve context-specific educational problems. Rather, they seek to identify some universal educational principles that could be applied in most educational systems to 'improve' education. Thus, when promoting developmental and technocratic views international agencies were not trying to solve a context specific educational problem, they were rather promoting a number of abstract universal social technologies (such as educational planning) that – in the logic of these agencies – could be used to improve education in most contexts.

The second shift in patterns of educational transfer is related to the sequencing of the process. In trans-national patterns of educational transfer, following a chronological order, a problem was identified, then a solution was looked for in a foreign system, and finally a 'tested' social technology was transferred. On the contrary, the movement of developmental and technocratic views into Argentina and Brazil was not a consequence of specific problems that were previously identified in each of these educational systems. Rather, international agencies defined the problems and simultaneously offered the solutions to these problems.

Thus, there is a spatial shift and a shift in the timing of the process. These shifts, that started to become apparent with the promotion of developmental views, will be further explored in the following chapters of this thesis by offering an analysis of teacher education reforms in Argentina and Brazil in the 1990s, assessing whether (and how) global educational discourse moved into Argentina and Brazil.

Consequently, it has been shown in this chapter that:

- Foreign influences have been adopted and adapted differently in teacher education in Argentina and Brazil, resulting in differences in available dominant discourses in each of these countries.

- *Normalismo* was the foreign influence that laid the foundations of the Argentine teacher education system, resulting in a definition of the concept of pedagogic identity that since the 1870s emphasised the role of teachers as agents of construction of national identity. Pedagogic knowledge stressed an instrumental command of teaching methods, and in the meaning given to curricular control teachers were not allowed to participate of the selection of contents.

- *Escolanovismo* was the foreign influence that established the foundations of the system of teacher education in Brazil. Thus, since the 1930s the state promoted amongst teachers a pedagogic identity in which their role was to civilise the masses, promoting 'work habits' and a Brazilian identity. In the meaning given to pedagogic

knowledge teachers constructed their own knowledge about teaching through experimentation in practice-based training. Emphasis was placed on child-centred pedagogy. Since the interests of students had to be considered, in the meaning given to curricular control in Brazil, teachers had some participation in the selection of contents.

- Both Brazil and Argentina were influenced by developmental and technocratic views promoted by international agencies (and the USA in Brazil). This influence was strong and similar at the level of official rhetoric but not so clear at the level of practice.

- The universal model for teacher education promoted by international agencies in the 1980s and 1990s represents a rupture with available dominant discourses in Argentina and Brazil. The exception to this rupture is the emphasis on child-centred pedagogy and on practice-based training promoted by international agencies, which already existed in Brazil.

Thus, this chapter has described the contexts into which – it has been argued – global educational discourse moved in the 1990s. In the next chapter the reforms of teacher education in Argentina and Brazil will be analysed and compared in order to assess if and how global educational discourse influenced these reforms.

Endnotes

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[9] Alexander, *Culture and Pedagogy: International Comparisons in Primary Education*, p. 172.
[10] Ibid., p. 546.
[11] Juan Carlos Tedesco, *Educación Y Sociedad En La Argentina (1880-1945) [Education and Society in Argentina (1880-1945)]* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Solar, 1986); Silvina Gvirtz, *Nuevas Y Viejas Tendencias En La Docencia (1945-1955) [New and Old Tendencies in the Teaching Profession (1945-1955)]* (Buenos Aires: Centro Editor de América Latina, 1991), p. 26.
[12] Andrea Alliaud, *Los Maestros Y Su Historia: Los Orígenes Del Magisterio Argentino [Teachers and Their History: The Origins of Argentine Teachers]*, *Estudios Sobre La Educación* (Buenos Aires: Centro Editor de América Latina, 1993), p. 51.
[13] Ibid., pp. 50-55.
[14] Ibid., p. 54.
[15] The famous pedagogue from Misiones, R. L. Naboulet cited in Teresa Laura Artieda, "El Magisterio En Los Territorios Nacionales: El Caso De Misiones [Teacher Training in the National Territories: The Case of Misiones]", in *La Educación En Las Provincias Y Territorios Nacionales (1885-1945) [Education in the Provinces and National Territories (1885-1945)]*, ed. Adriana Puiggros (Buenos Aires: Editorial Galerna, 1993), p. 313.
[16] Alliaud, *Los Maestros Y Su Historia: Los Orígenes Del Magisterio Argentino [Teachers and Their History: The Origins of Argentine Teachers]*, p. 54.
[17] Tedesco, *Educación Y Sociedad En La Argentina (1880-1945) [Education and Society in Argentina (1880-1945)]*, pp. 25-35.
[18] Alberdi cited in Ibid., p. 27.
[19] Ibid., p. 63; Alliaud, *Los Maestros Y Su Historia: Los Orígenes Del Magisterio Argentino [Teachers and Their History: The Origins of Argentine Teachers]*, p. 55.
[20] Tedesco, *Educación Y Sociedad En La Argentina (1880-1945) [Education and Society in Argentina (1880-1945)]*, p. 63; Alliaud, *Los Maestros Y Su Historia: Los Orígenes Del Magisterio Argentino [Teachers and Their History: The Origins of Argentine Teachers]*, p. 55.
[21] Tedesco, *Educación Y Sociedad En La Argentina (1880-1945) [Education and Society in Argentina (1880-1945)]*, p. 64.
[22] Ibid., p. 164.

[23] Alliaud, *Los Maestros Y Su Historia: Los Orígenes Del Magisterio Argentino [Teachers and Their History: The Origins of Argentine Teachers]*, p. 62.
[24] Gvirtz, *Nuevas Y Viejas Tendencias En La Docencia (1945-1955) [New and Old Tendencies in the Teaching Profession (1945-1955)]*, p. 28.
[25] Alliaud, *Los Maestros Y Su Historia: Los Orígenes Del Magisterio Argentino [Teachers and Their History: The Origins of Argentine Teachers]*, p. 89.
[26] Ibid., pp. 89-90.
[27] Ibid., p. 106.
[28] Gvirtz, *Nuevas Y Viejas Tendencias En La Docencia (1945-1955) [New and Old Tendencies in the Teaching Profession (1945-1955)]*, p. 27.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Ibid.; Alliaud, *Los Maestros Y Su Historia: Los Orígenes Del Magisterio Argentino [Teachers and Their History: The Origins of Argentine Teachers]*; Tedesco, *Educación Y Sociedad En La Argentina (1880-1945) [Education and Society in Argentina (1880-1945)]*.
[31] Silvina Gvirtz and Mariano Narodowski, "Educational Reform in Argentina: Past, Present and Future Tendencies", in *Contemporary Educational Issues in the Americas*, ed. Collin Brock (Wallingford, England: Symposium Books, forthcoming).
[32] Alliaud, *Los Maestros Y Su Historia: Los Orígenes Del Magisterio Argentino [Teachers and Their History: The Origins of Argentine Teachers]*.
[33] Ibid., pp. 63-64.
[34] Varela, J. P. quoted in Ibid., p. 65.
[35] Memorias, cited in Ibid., p. 82.
[36] Ibid., p. 76 and pp. 124-125.
[37] Ibid., pp. 128-133.
[38] Ibid., p. 134; Gvirtz, *Nuevas Y Viejas Tendencias En La Docencia (1945-1955) [New and Old Tendencies in the Teaching Profession (1945-1955)]*, p.29.
[39] The Director of a Normal School in 1910, cited in Alliaud, *Los Maestros Y Su Historia: Los Orígenes Del Magisterio Argentino [Teachers and Their History: The Origins of Argentine Teachers]*, p. 134.
[40] Ibid., pp. 135-136.
[41] Ibid., pp. 137-138.
[42] Ibid., pp. 137-138.
[43] Ibid., pp. 137-138.
[44] Memoria 1883 in Ibid., p. 139.
[45] Pablo Pineau, "Docentes Indecentes: Las Maestras Fundadoras y El Respeto a Los Valores [Indecent Teachers: The Founding Teachers and the Respect for Values]," in *La Escuela Mas Allá Del Bien Y El Mal: Ensayos Sobre La Transformación De Los Valores Educativos [The Good and the Bad in School: Essays on the Transformation of Educational Values]*, ed. Estanislao Antelo (Santa Fe: AMSAFE, 2001), p. 94.
[46] Maria Cristina Davini, *El Currículum De Formación Del Magisterio: Planes De Estudio Y Programas De Enseñanza [The Curriculum of Teacher Training: Study Plans and Programmes]* (Buenos Aires: Miño y Davila Editores, 1998), p. 28.
[47] Alliaud, *Los Maestros Y Su Historia: Los Orígenes Del Magisterio Argentino [Teachers and Their History: The Origins of Argentine Teachers]*, pp. 139-140.
[48] Departamento de Instrucción Pública, Argentina (1886) Reglamento interno para las Escuelas Normales de la Nación [Internal Regulation for National Normal Schools], in: Ibid., pp. 196-217.
[49] Tedesco, *Educación Y Sociedad En La Argentina (1880-1945) [Education and Society in Argentina (1880-1945)]*, p. 208. For a more detailed description of social changes in Argentina during this period see endnote number 146.
[50] Gvirtz, *Nuevas Y Viejas Tendencias En La Docencia (1945-1955) [New and Old Tendencies in the Teaching Profession]*, p. 57.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Tedesco, *Educación Y Sociedad En La Argentina (1880-1945) [Education and Society in Argentina (1880-1945)]*, p. 231.

[54] Leonor Maria Tanuri, "Historia Da Formação De Professores [History of Teacher Education]", *Revista Brasileira de Educação Numero especial '500 anos de educação escolar'*, no. 14 (2000), p. 63.; Diana Gonçalves Vidal and Silvina Gvirtz, "La Enseñanza De La Escritura Y La Conformación De La Modernidad Escolar: Argentina Y Brasil 1880-1930 [The Teaching of Writing and the Formation of School Modernity: Argentina and Brazil 1880-1930]", *Anuario de la Sociedad Argentina de Historia de la Educación* 1, no. 2 (1999), p. 140; Heloisa Villela, "O Mestre-Escola E a Professora", in *500 Anos De Educação No Brasil [500 Years of Education in Brazil]*, ed. Eliane Marta Teixeira Lopes, Luciano Mendes Faria Filho, and Cynthia Greive Vega (Belo Horizonte: Autentica, 2000), pp. 98-101.
[55] Tanuri, "Historia Da Formação De Professores [History of Teacher Education]", p. 63; Gonçalves Vidal and Gvirtz, "La Enseñanza De La Escritura Y La Conformacion De La Modernidad Escolar: Argentina Y Brasil 1880-1930 [The Teaching of Writing and the Formation of School Modernity: Argentina and Brazil 1880-1930]", p. 140; Villela, "O Mestre-Escola E a Professora", pp. 98-101.
[56] Villela, "O Mestre-Escola E a Professora", p. 108.
[57] Guacira Lopes Louro, "Mulheres Na Sala De Aula [Women in the Classroom]", in *Historia Das Mulheres No Brasil [Histroy of Women in Brazil]*, ed. Mary Del Priore (São Paulo: Editora Contexto Editora UNESP, 2000), p. 444.
[58] Villela, "O Mestre-Escola E a Professora", pp. 108-09.
[59] Tanuri, "Historia Da Formação De Professores [History of Teacher Education]", p. 63.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid.; Villela, "O Mestre-Escola E a Professora", p. 115.
[62] Tanuri, "Historia Da Formação De Professores [History of Teacher Education]", p. 66.
[63] Villela, "O Mestre-Escola E a Professora", p. 117.
[64] Tanuri, "Historia Da Formação De Professores [History of Teacher Education]", p. 67.
[65] Ibid.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Ibid.
[69] Ibid., p. 63
[70] Villela, "O Mestre-Escola E a Professora", p. 105 and p. 26.
[71] Art. 4 of Law number 10 of 4th of May 1835. Cited in Ibid.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Lopes Louro, "Mulheres Na Sala De Aula [Women in the Classroom]", p. 451; Maria Cristina Soares de Gouvea and Walquira Miranda Rosa, "A Escola Normal Em Minas Gerais [The Normal School in Minas Gerais]", in *Lições De Minas [Lessons from Minas]*, ed. Secretaría de Educação de Minas Gerais (Belo Horizonte: Secretaría de Educação, Minas Gerais, 2000), p. 29.
[74] Lopes Louro, "Mulheres Na Sala De Aula [Women in the Classroom]", p. 451.
[75] Ibid., pp. 456-457; Soares de Gouvea and Miranda Rosa, "A Escola Normal Em Minas Gerais [The Normal School in Minas Gerais]", pp. 29-30.
[76] Lopes Louro, "Mulheres Na Sala De Aula [Women in the Classroom]", p. 458.
[77] Elomar Tambara, "Profissionalização, Escola Normal, Feminização E Femilinização: Magisterio Sul-Rio-Grandense De Instrução Pública - 1880/1935 [Professionalisation, the Normal School, and Feminisation and *Feminilisation*: Teacher Education in Rio Grande Do Sul - 1880/1935]", in *Trabalho Docente: Formação E Identidades [Teachers: Education and Identities]*, ed. Alvaro Moreira Hypolito, Jarbas Santos Vieira, and Maria Manuela Alves Garcia (Pelotas: Seiva, 2002), p. 79 and p. 88; Lopes Louro, "Mulheres Na Sala De Aula [Women in the Classroom]", p. 460; Soares de Gouvea and Miranda Rosa, "A Escola Normal Em Minas Gerais [The Normal School in Minas Gerais]", p. 30.
[78] Manfredo Berger, *Educação E Dependencia [Education and Dependency]*, 2nd Edition ed. (Rio de Janeiro - São Paulo: DIFEL, 1977), p. 170.
[79] Fernando de Azevedo, *A Cultura Brasileira: Introdução Ao Estudo Da Cultura No Brasil [Brazilian Culture: Introduction to the Study of Culture in Brazil]* (São Paulo: Melhoramentos, 1964), p 139; Maria Luisa Santos Ribeiro, *Historia Da Educação Brasileira: A Organização Escolar [History of Brazilian Education: The Organisation of Schooling]*, 2nd Edition ed. (São Paulo: Cortez & Moraes, 1979), p.128; Thomas E. Skidmore, *Brazil: Five Centuries of Change* (New York - Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p.87.

[80] Denice Barbara Catani, "Estudos De Historia Da Profissão Docente [Studies on the History of the Teaching Profession]", in *500 Anos De Educação No Brasil [500 Years of Education in Brazil]*, ed. Eliane Marta Teixeira Lopes, Luciano Mendes Faria Filho, and Cynthia Greive Vega (Belo Horizonte: Autentica, 2000), p. 593.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Tanuri, "Historia Da Formação De Professores [History of Teacher Education]", p. 68.
[83] Marta Maria Chagas de Carvalho, "Reformas Da Instrução Pública [Reforms of Public Instruction]", in *500 Anos De Educação No Brasil [500 Years of Education in Brazil]*, ed. Eliane Marta Teixeira Lopes, Luciano Mendes Faria Filho, and Cynthia Greive Vega (Belo Horizonte: Autentica, 2000), pp. 225-226. Since 1910, commissions from different states visited São Paulo to study the organisation of its educational system, and teachers from São Paulo were also sent to other states, such as Mato Grosso, Espirito Santo, Santa Catarina, Sergipe, Alagoas, Ceara, amongst others. Tanuri, "Historia Da Formação De Professores [History of Teacher Education]", pp. 68-69.
[84] Chagas de Carvalho, "Reformas Da Instrução Pública [Reforms of Public Instruction]", pp. 225-226; Tanuri, "Historia Da Formação De Professores [History of Teacher Education]", pp. 68-69.
[85] Tanuri, "Historia Da Formação De Professores [History of Teacher Education]", p. 69.
[86] Chagas de Carvalho, "Reformas Da Instrução Pública [Reforms of Public Instruction]", pp. 225-226; Tanuri, "Historia Da Formação De Professores [History of Teacher Education]", p. 69.
[87] Chagas de Carvalho, "Reformas Da Instrução Pública [Reforms of Public Instruction]", p. 226.
[88] Cited in Ibid., p. 225.
[89] Ibid., p. 226.
[90] Tanuri, "Historia Da Formação De Professores [History of Teacher Education]", p. 70.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Ibid.
[93] Catani, "Estudos De Historia Da Profissão Docente [Studies on the History of the Teaching Profession]", pp. 591-592.
[94] Ibid.
[95] Catani, "Estudos De Historia Da Profissão Docente [Studies on the History of the Teaching Profession]", p. 592.
[96] Skidmore, *Brazil: Five Centuries of Change*, pp. 102-103.
[97] Tedesco, *Educación Y Sociedad En La Argentina (1880-1945) [Education and Society in Argentina (1880-1945)]*, pp 255-257; Gvirtz, *Nuevas Y Viejas Tendencias En La Docencia (1945-1955) [New and Old Tendencies in the Teaching Profession]*, p. 36.
[98] In 1964 the *Censo Escolar* revealed that only 56% of Brazilian primary teachers had a professional education. Out of the 44% of teachers with no professional training, 71.6% had only finished primary education Tanuri, "Historia Da Formação De Professores [History of Teacher Education]", p. 77.
[99] Extract taken from the pamphlet of the 26 International Standing Conference for the History of Education held in the University of Geneva form 14 to 17 July 2004. The conference theme is: New Education: genesis and metamorphoses.
[100] Cited in Ovide Menin, "Encuentro Binacional "Escuela Nueva En Argentina Y Brasil". Estado Del Arte Y Perspectiva De Investigación [Binational Seminar "New School in Argentina and Brazil". State of the Art and Research Perspective]", in *Escuela Nueva En Argentina Y Brasil: Visiones Comparadas [New School Movement in Argentina and Brazil: Comparative Visions]*, ed. Silvina Gvirtz (Buenos Aires: Miño y Davila, 1996), p. 9.
[101] Ibid.
[102] Skidmore, *Brazil: Five Centuries of Change*, pp. 99-100.
[103] Ibid., pp. 84-88.
[104] Santos Ribeiro, *Historia Da Educação Brasileira: A Organização Escolar [History of Brazilian Education: The Organisation of Schooling]*, pp. 91-93.
[105] Robert Cowen and Maria Figueiredo, "Brazil", in *International Handbook of Educational Reform*, ed. Peter W. Cookson Jr., Alan R. Sadovnik, and Susan F. Semel (London: Greenwood Press, 1992), p. 54; Skidmore, *Brazil: Five Centuries of Change*, p. 111.
[106] Skidmore, *Brazil: Five Centuries of Change*, p. 102.
[107] Ibid., p. 103.
[108] Ibid.

[109] Diana Gonçalves Vidal, "Escola Nova E Processo Educativo [The New School Movement and the Educational Process]", in *500 Anos De Educação No Brasil [500 Years of Education in Brazil]*, ed. Eliane Marta Teixeira Lopes, Luciano Mendes Faria Filho, and Cynthia Greive Vega (Belo Horizonte: Autentica, 2000), p. 512.
[110] The proportion of illiterates was approximately the same as in 1900 (about 60%). However, population in Brazil had almost doubled, passing from 17.438.434 in 1900 to 30.635.605 in 1920. Thus, the number of illiterates had almost doubled in twenty years. Berger, *Educação E Dependencia [Education and Dependency]*, p. 208; *Instituto Brasileiro De Geografia E Esadística [Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics]* Cited March 2004. Available from http://www.ibge.gov.br/home/estatistica/populacao/censohistorico/1872_1920.shtm.
[111] Tanuri, "Historia Da Formação De Professores [History of Teacher Education]", p. 72.
[112] Cowen and Figueiredo "Brazil", p. 54; Fernando Azevedo, *et al.*, *O Manifesto Dos Pioneiros Da Educação Nova* (1932) Cited April 2004. Available from http://www.pedagogiaemfoco.pro.br/heb07a.htm.
[113] Santos Ribeiro, *Historia Da Educação Brasileira: A Organização Escolar [History of Brazilian Education: The Organisation of Schooling]*, pp. 107-108.
[114] Teixeira cited in Berger, *Educação E Dependencia [Education and Dependency]*, p. 209
[115] Santos Ribeiro, *Historia Da Educação Brasileira: A Organização Escolar [History of Brazilian Education: The Organisation of Schooling]*, pp. 115-117; Tanuri, "Historia Da Formação De Professores [History of Teacher Education]", p. 71.
[116] Vera Maria Ferrao Candau, *et al.*, *Novos Rumos Da Licenciatura [New Ways for the Licenciatura]* (Brasilia: Pontificia Universidade Catolica do Rio de Janeiro, 1987), p. 14.
[117] Gonçalves Vidal, "Escola Nova E Processo Educativo [The New School Movement and the Educational Process]", p. 513.; Vivian Batista da Silva, "Uma Historia Das Leituras Para Professores: Analise Da Produção E Circulação De Saberes Especializados Nos Manuais Pedagógicos (1930-1971) [A History of Readings for Teachers: Analysis of the Production and Circulation of Specialised Knowledge in Pedagogic Manuals]" (paper presented at the 25th Annual meeting of ANPED, Caxambu, Brazil, 2002), pp. 7-8.
[118] Gonçalves Vidal, "Escola Nova E Processo Educativo [The New School Movement and the Educational Process]", pp. 498-515.
[119] cited in Ibid., p. 515.
[120] Ibid., pp. 498-515.
[121] de Azevedo, cited in Ibid., p. 515.
[122] Ibid., pp. 514-515.
[123] Tanuri, "Historia Da Formação De Professores [History of Teacher Education]", p. 72.
[124] Teixeira cited in Ibid., p. 73.
[125] Ibid.
[126] An example can be seen in the subjects included in the curriculum for the *Escola de Professores* of the Federal District. First year: Educational Biology, Educational Psychology, Educational Sociology, History of Education, Music, Drawing and Physical Education, Recreation and Games. Second year: Introduction to teaching – principles and techniques, contents of teaching (calculus, reading and language, child literature, social studies, and natural sciences), and teaching practice. Olinda Evangelista, "Formar O Mestre Na Universidade: A Experiencia Paulista Nos Anos De 1930 [Training Teachers in the University: The Experience in São Paulo in the 1930s]", *Educação e Pesquisa* 27, no. 2 (2001), p. 252.
[127] Ibid., p. 253.
[128] Tanuri, "Historia Da Formação De Professores [History of Teacher Education]", pp. 73-74.
[129] Manoel Lourenço Filho, "Prática De Ensino [Teaching Practice]", in *A Formação De Professores: Da Escola Normal a Escola De Educação [Teacher Education: From the Normal School to the School of Education]*, ed. Ruy Lourenço Filho (Brasilia: INEP/MEC, 2001), pp. 53-56.
[130] Ibid., p. 54.
[131] Gonçalves Vidal, "Escola Nova E Processo Educativo [The New School Movement and the Educational Process]", p. 514.
[132] Evangelista, "Formar O Mestre Na Universidade: A Experiencia Paulista Nos Anos De 1930 [Training Teachers in the University: The Experience in São Paulo in the 1930s]", p. 251.

[133] Gonçalves Vidal, "Escola Nova E Processo Educativo [The New School Movement and the Educational Process]", p. 512.
[134] Tanuri, "Historia Da Formação De Professores [History of Teacher Education]", p. 75.
[135] Ibid., pp. 75-77.
[136] Ibid., p. 77.
[137] Ibid., pp. 75-76.
[138] Ibid.
[139] Ibid., p. 76; Clarice Nunes, Formação Docente No Brasil: Entre Avanços Legais e Recuos Pragmáticos [Teacher education in Brazil: between legal progress and pragmatic retreats]", *Teias* 1, no. 1 (2000).
[140] Angela Maria de Souza Martins, "Os Anos Dourados E a Formação Do Professor Primario No Instituto De Educação Do Rio De Janeiro (1945-1960) [The Golden Years and Primary Teacher Education in the Institute of Education of Rio De Janeiro]", *Teias* 1, no. 1 (2000), pp. 58-60
[141] cited in Tanuri, "Historia Da Formação De Professores [History of Teacher Education]", p. 76.
[142] Ibid., p. 77.
[143] Ibid.
[144] Silvina Gvirtz, "Estrategia De La Escuela Nueva a Través De La Revista "La Obra" Y Sus Propuestas Didácticas [Strategies of the New School through the Journal "La Obra" and Its Didactic Proposals]", in *Escuela Nueva En Argentina Y Brasil: Visiones Comparadas [New School Movement in Argentina and Brazil: Comparative Visions]*, ed. Silvina Gvirtz (Buenos Aires: Miño y Davila, 1996), pp. 84-85; Mariano Narodowski, "Silencios Y Márgenes. La Escuela Nueva En La Historiografía Educacional Argentina [Silences and Margins. The New School in Argentine Educational Historiography]", in *Escuela Nueva En Argentina Y Brasil: Visiones Comparadas [New School Movement in Argentina and Brazil: Comparative Visions]*, ed. Silvina Gvirtz (Buenos Aires: Miño y Davila, 1996).
[145] Narodowski, "Silencios Y Márgenes. La Escuela Nueva En La Historiografía Educacional Argentina [Silences and Margins. The New School in Argentine Educational Historiography]".
[146] It is useful to clarify the class structure of Argentina during the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century.
Germani notes that following the period of national organisation (1810-1860), Argentine society was composed of two classes, since the middle class did not have enough members or economic power to be considered. The most important group of the upper class - not only in number but also because of their political, economic and social influence on the rest of society - was the rural landowners. Their power and prestige was primarily based on the possession of land and on agricultural activities.
By 1895, the social structure had been modified. A great number of immigrants - proportionally twice as many as those that reached the USA - had arrived in the country and the process of urbanisation had advanced. The policies adopted by the upper class to protect their interests limited the possibilities for the immigrants to buy land. Consequently most of the newly arrived stayed in the cities, where they had better opportunities, and became an urban and modern middle class. Most of the immigrants did not integrate into Argentina's political life. In this context the middle class was for many years excluded from national politics. Finally, the 'popular class' represented approximately 60% of the economically active population. The main characteristic of this highly heterogeneous group was its lack of political power and by the 1940s its concentration in urban areas (70%). Manuel Bejarano, "Inmigración Y Estructuras Tradicionales En Buenos Aires (1854-1930) [Immigration and Traditional Structures in Buenos Aires (1854-1930)]," in *Los Fragmentos Del Poder: De La Oligarquía a La Poliarquía Argentina [The Fragments of Power: From Oligarchy to Poliarchy in Argentina]*, ed. Torcuato Di Tella and Tulio Halperín Donghi (Buenos Aires: Editorial Jorge Alvarez S. A., 1969); Torcuato Di Tella, *Clases Sociales Y Estructuras Políticas [Social Classes and Political Structures]* (Buenos Aires: Paidos, 1974); Torcuato Di Tella, "Los Contendientes Y Sus Batallas. Introducción [The Opponents and Their Battles. Introduction]", in *Los Fragmentos Del Poder: De La Oligarquía a La Poliarquía Argentina [The Fragments of Power: From Oligarchy to Poliarchy in Argentina]*, ed. Torcuato Di Tella and Tulio Halperín Donghi (Buenos Aires: Editorial Jorge Alvarez S. A., 1969); Gino Germani, *Estructura Social De La Argentina [Social Structure of Argentina]* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Raigal, 1955); Tulio Halperín Donghi, "Las Raíces Históricas. Introducción [The Historical Roots. Introduction]", in *Los Fragmentos Del Poder: De La Oligarquía a La Poliarquía Argentina [Fragments of Power: From Oligarchy to Poliarchy in Argentina]*, ed. Torcuato Di Tella and Tulio Halperín Donghi (Buenos Aires: Editorial Jorge Alvarez S. A., 1969); Eduardo Zimmermann, *Los Liberales Reformistas: La Cuestión Social En La*

Argentina 1890 - 1916 [Liberal Reformists: The Social Issue in Argentina 1890 - 1916] (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana. Universidad de San Andres, 1995).
[147] Germani, *Estructura Social De La Argentina [Social Structure of Argentina]*.
[148] Daniel Cano, *La Educación Superior En La Argentina [Higher Education in Argentina]*, 1st ed. (Buenos Aires: FLACSO/Grupo Editor Latinoamericano, 1985);
[149] Marcela Mollis, *Universidad Y Estado Nacional: Argentina Y Japón 1885-1930 [The University and the National State: Argentina and Japan 1885-1930]* (Buenos Aires: Biblos, 1990).
[150] Orlando Albornoz, "Models of the Latin American University", in *The Latin American University*, ed. Joseph Maier and Richard Weatherhead (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1979).
[151] Jose Luis Romero, "University Reform", in *The Latin American University*, ed Joseph Maier and Richard Weatherhead (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1979).
[152] Tedesco, *Educación Y Sociedad En La Argentina (1880-1945) [Education and Society in Argentina (1880-1945)]*.
[153] Gvirtz, "Estrategia De La Escuela Nueva a Través De La Revista "La Obra" Y Sus Propuestas Didácticas [Strategies of the New School through the Journal "La Obra" and Its Didactic Proposals]".
[154] Ibid., p. 84.
[155] Halperin Donghi, "Las Raíces Históricas. Introducción [The Historical Roots. Introduction]", p. 16.
[156] Gvirtz, *Nuevas Y Viejas Tendencias En La Docencia (1945-1955) [New and Old Tendencies in the Teaching Profession]*, p. 34.
[157] Ibid., pp. 35-36.
[158] Mónica Esti Rein, *Politics and Education in Argentina, 1946 - 1962* (Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1998), pp. 16-37.
[159] Tedesco, *Educación Y Sociedad En La Argentina (1880-1945) [Education and Society in Argentina (1880-1945)]*, pp 247-259; Gvirtz, *Nuevas Y Viejas Tendencias En La Docencia (1945-1955) [New and Old Tendencies in the Teaching Profession]*, p. 36.
[160] Esti Rein, *Politics and Education in Argentina, 1946 - 1962*, pp. 35-37.
[161] Tedesco, *Educación Y Sociedad En La Argentina (1880-1945) [Education and Society in Argentina (1880-1945)]*, pp 255-257; Gvirtz, *Nuevas Y Viejas Tendencias En La Docencia (1945-1955) [New and Old Tendencies in the Teaching Profession]*, p. 36.
[162] Tedesco, *Educación Y Sociedad En La Argentina (1880-1945) [Education and Society in Argentina (1880-1945)]*, pp 255-257; Gvirtz, *Nuevas Y Viejas Tendencias En La Docencia (1945-1955) [New and Old Tendencies in the Teaching Profession]*, p. 36.
[163] Gvirtz, *Nuevas Y Viejas Tendencias En La Docencia (1945-1955) [New and Old Tendencies in the Teaching Profession]*, pp. 35-38.
[164] Ibid., p. 38.
[165] Cited in Ibid., p. 42.
[166] Ibid., pp. 40-43.
[167] Ibid., pp. 63-67.
[168] Ibid., pp. 68-69.
[169] Ibid., p. 75.
[170] Ibid., pp. 73-76.
[171] Ibid., pp. 76-85.
[172] Ibid., pp. 77-79.
[173] Cited in Ibid., p. 81.
[174] Esti Rein, *Politics and Education in Argentina, 1946 - 1962*, pp. 41-46.
[175] Robert Cowen, "Schools and Selected Aspects of Culture from the Perspective of Comparative Education: Neither a Borrower nor a Lender Be", in *International Perspectives on Culture and Schooling: A Symposium Proceedings*, ed. Elwyn Thomas (London: Department of International and Comparative Education, Institute of Education, University of London, 1994), p 102.
[176] Ibid.
[177] Ibid.
[178] Harold Noah and Max Eckstein, *Toward a Science of Comparative Education* (London: Macmillan, 1969), p. 82.
[179] Peron and his followers were legally declared traitors to their country and the dissemination of Peronist propaganda was forbidden. The use of Peronist symbols and slogans and the display of pictures or

drawings of Juan or Eva Peron were outlawed. Esti Rein, *Politics and Education in Argentina, 1946 - 1962*, p. 119.

[180] Myriam Southwell, "Algunas Características De La Formación Docente En La Historia Educativa Reciente. El Legado Del Espiritualismo Y El Tecnocratismo (1955-76) [Some Characteristics of Teacher Education in Recent History of Education. The Legacy of Spiritualism and *Technocratism* (1955-76)]", in *Dictaduras Y Utopías En La Historia Reciente De La Educación Argentina (1955-1983) [Dictatorships and Utopies in Recent History of Education in Argentina (1955-1983)]*, ed. Adriana Puiggros (Buenos Aires: Editorial Galerna, 1997), p. 118.

[181] Ibid., p. 121.

[182] Ibid., pp. 112-113; Maria Cristina Davini, *La Formación Docente En Cuestión: Política Y Pedagogía [Questioning Teacher Education: Politics and Pedagogy]* (Buenos Aires & Mexico D.F.: Paidos, 1995), pp. 38-39.

[183] Southwell, "Algunas Características De La Formación Docente En La Historia Educativa Reciente. El Legado Del Espiritualismo Y El Tecnocratismo (1955-76) [Some Characteristics of Teacher Education in Recent History of Education. The Legacy of Spiritualism and *Technocratism* (1955-76)]", p. 123.

[184] Cited in Davini, *El Currículum De Formación Del Magisterio: Planes De Estudio Y Programas De Enseñanza [The Curriculum of Teacher Training: Study Plans and Programmes]*, p. 33.

[185] Southwell, "Algunas Características De La Formación Docente En La Historia Educativa Reciente. El Legado Del Espiritualismo Y El Tecnocratismo (1955-76) [Some Characteristics of Teacher Education in Recent History of Education. The Legacy of Spiritualism and *Technocratism* (1955-76)]", pp. 110-112.

[186] Davini, *El Currículum De Formación Del Magisterio: Planes De Estudio Y Programas De Enseñanza [The Curriculum of Teacher Training: Study Plans and Programmes]*, pp. 42-44.

[187] Southwell, "Algunas Características De La Formación Docente En La Historia Educativa Reciente. El Legado Del Espiritualismo Y El Tecnocratismo (1955-76) [Some Characteristics of Teacher Education in Recent History of Education. The Legacy of Spiritualism and *Technocratism* (1955-76)]" pp. 111-112.

[188] Cited in Ibid.

[189] Davini, *La Formación Docente En Cuestión: Política Y Pedagogía [Questioning Teacher Education: Politics and Pedagogy]*, p. 37.

[190] Ibid., p. 38.

[191] Southwell, "Algunas Características De La Formación Docente En La Historia Educativa Reciente. El Legado Del Espiritualismo Y El Tecnocratismo (1955-76) [Some Characteristics of Teacher Education in Recent History of Education. The Legacy of Spiritualism and *Technocratism* (1955-76)]" p. 112.

[192] Ibid., pp. 114-16; Davini, *La Formación Docente En Cuestión: Política Y Pedagogía [Questioning Teacher Education: Politics and Pedagogy]*, p. 37.

[193] Davini, *La Formación Docente En Cuestión: Política Y Pedagogía [Questioning Teacher Education: Politics and Pedagogy]*, p. 37.

[194] Southwell, "Algunas Características De La Formación Docente En La Historia Educativa Reciente. El Legado Del Espiritualismo Y El Tecnocratismo (1955-76) [Some Characteristics of Teacher Education in Recent History of Education. The Legacy of Spiritualism and *Technocratism* (1955-76)]", pp. 130-135; Davini, *El Currículum De Formación Del Magisterio: Planes De Estudio Y Programas De Enseñanza [The Curriculum of Teacher Training: Study Plans and Programmes]*, pp. 44-45; Davini, *La Formación Docente En Cuestión: Política Y Pedagogía [Questioning Teacher Education: Politics and Pedagogy]*, pp. 39-40.

[195] Ibid.

[196] Davini, *El Currículum De Formación Del Magisterio: Planes De Estudio Y Programas De Enseñanza Tthe Curriculum of Teacher Training: Plans and Programmes]*.

[197] Ibid.

[198] Ibid., pp. 52-53.

[199] Ibid., p. 52.

[200] Davini, *La Formación Docente En Cuestión: Política Y Pedagogía [Questioning Teacher Education: Politics and Pedagogy]*, p. 38.

[201] Ibid.

[202] Southwell, "Algunas Características De La Formación Docente En La Historia Educativa Reciente. El Legado Del Espiritualismo Y El Tecnocratismo (1955-76) [Some Characteristics of Teacher Education in Recent History of Education. The Legacy of Spiritualism and *Technocratism* (1955-76)]", pp. 143-45.

[203] Ibid.
[204] Davini, *La Formación Docente En Cuestión: Política Y Pedagogía [Questioning Teacher Education: Politics and Pedagogy]*, pp. 41-42.
[205] Ibid., p. 41.
[206] Davini, *El Currículum De Formación Del Magisterio: Planes De Estudio Y Programas De Enseñanza [The Curriculum of Teacher Training: Study Plans and Programmes]*, pp. 64-66.
[207] Ibid.
[208] Juan Carlos Tedesco, "Elementos Para Una Sociología Del Currículum Escolar En Argentina [Elements for a Sociology of the School Curriculum in Argentina]", in *El Proyecto Educativo Autoritario: Argentina 1976-1982 [The Authoritarian Educational Project: Argentina 1976-1982]*, ed. Juan Carlos Tedesco, Cecilia Braslavsky, and Ricardo Carciofi (Buenos Aires: FLACSO, 1983), pp. 63-70.
[209] Ibid.
[210] Cited in Davini, *La Formación Docente En Cuestión: Política Y Pedagogía [Questioning Teacher Education: Politics and Pedagogy]*, p. 42.
[211] Davini, *El Currículum De Formación Del Magisterio: Planes De Estudio Y Programas De Enseñanza [The Curriculum of Teacher Training: Study Plans and Programmes]*, pp. 64-66.
[212] Ibid.
[213] Ibid., pp. 66-71.
[214] Cowen, and Figueiredo "Brazil", p. 55.
[215] Ibid., pp. 55-56.
[216] Jose Oliveira Arapiraca, *A USAID e a Educação Brasileira [USAID and Brazilian Education]* (São Paulo: Editora Autores Associados and Cortez Editora, 1982), p. 105.
[217] Cited in Ibid., pp. 111-112.
[218] Ibid., p. 112.
[219] Ibid., pp. 110-170.
[220] Ibid., pp. 117-131.
[221] Ibid., pp. 149-162.
[222] Cowen, and Figueiredo "Brazil", p. 57.
[223] Santos Ribeiro, *Historia Da Educação Brasileira: A Organização Escolar [History of Brazilian Education: The Organisation of Schooling]*, pp. 139-146.
[224] Tanuri, "Historia Da Formação De Professores [History of Teacher Education]", p. 78.
[225] Ibid.
[226] Ibid., pp 78-79.
[227] Ibid., p 79.
[228] Ibid., p. 79
[229] Ibid.
[230] Ibid., p. 80; Nunes, "Formação Docente No Brasil: Entre Avanços Legais e Recuos Pragmáticos [Teacher education in Brazil: between legal progress and pragmatic retreats]", p. 23.
[231] Tanuri, "Historia Da Formação De Professores [History of Teacher Education]", p. 81.
[232] CENAFOR, cited in Ibid., p. 82.
[233] Ibid., p 83.
[234] Ibid., p. 83.

Chapter 5

Teachers of the future: Adapting Argentine and Brazilian teacher education to the 'information age'

This Chapter compares reforms of teacher education in Argentina and in Brazil in the 1990s, examining the laws and regulations that organise these systems of teacher education, and the curricular guidelines that have been established for teacher education at the national level.

The analysis will be centred on the influences of international agencies and the particular interpretation that the universal model for teacher education promoted by these agencies has been given in Argentine and Brazilian policies. An analysis of the general patterns of educational reform implemented in Argentina and in Brazil in the 1990s will be offered as an introduction to place the specific analysis of teacher education in its broader context.

The chapter has three arguments. The first argument is that both the Argentine and the Brazilian governments implemented in the 1990s educational reforms which were aimed not only at changing some aspects of these educational systems, but rather at changing the whole of the Argentine and Brazilian educational systems. The justification for such an important shift was found in 'external pressures', mainly the need to adapt to globalisation and the information age.

The second argument is that these reform strategies in Argentina and Brazil followed the educational principles promoted by international agencies in what was called earlier in this thesis their 'universal model of education'.

The third argument is that in the new curricular policies for teacher education in Argentina and Brazil concepts of pedagogic identity, pedagogic knowledge, and curricular control have been given a meaning that is very similar to the meanings that have been identified in the proposals of international agencies in Chapter Three.

In order to explore these arguments, the chapter has three sections. The first one analyses the educational reform implemented by the government of Fernando Henrique Cardoso in Brazil. The second section analyses the reform of the Argentine educational system in the 1990s. The third section examines the reforms of teacher education in Argentina and in Brazil.

The first two sections have similar structures. Both start with an analysis of the strategic lines of the governments that initiated the Argentine and Brazilian educational reforms in the 1990s. Then, the different plans and programs that were implemented as part of these reforms will be presented. Finally, two specific policies will be analysed in more detail: decentralisation policies and curricular policies.

These policies are especially interesting for this chapter because prior to the reforms of the 1990s there were significant differences in how administrative power was distributed among the different levels of the state (national, provincial, or municipal);

and in curricular policies in Argentina and Brazil. The Argentine educational system has traditionally been very centralised. Most decisions, including curricular policy, were taken by the National Ministry of Education without much participation of the provinces. Meanwhile, as has been mentioned in Chapter Four, Brazil has always had a decentralised educational system in which most decisions, including curricular policies, were taken at the level of the regional states. However, even if the locus of curricular definition was different in each of these countries, the style of the curriculum was similarly based on a prescriptive and encyclopaedic culture.

Nevertheless, it has been argued in this chapter that both systems have been influenced by global educational discourse. Thus, some differences could be expected in practice from the localising of global educational discourse in different contexts in each of these countries.

"Stabilisation and Reforms": adapting Brazilian education to the information age

This section suggests that one of the main goals of Fernando Henrique Cardoso´s administration (1995-2002) was to launch a major reform of the state, aimed at adapting the country to 'the new world order' or, in other words, to the information age. To attain such a goal, financial and technical assistance from international agencies was considered fundamental, and a complete reform of the educational system one of the main strategies that was used.

The overall objective of the government can be illustrated in Cardoso's own words:

> We live today in a global scenario that brings new challenges to societies and national states...It is imperative to reflect, both realistically and creatively, on the risks and opportunities of the process of globalisation. This is the only way through which we will be able to transform the state in order to adapt it to the new demands of the contemporary world.[1]

The extract above shows how the Brazilian government portrayed its policies as the only possible response to a set of challenges that were imposed from abroad (from the 'contemporary world') on Brazil. In this way, the government formulated the debate as a binary option: to adapt, or not to adapt.

Following this vision, a major reform of the state and of the relations between the different jurisdictional levels was launched. The bureaucratic model of administration of the state was presented as an impediment for the efficient provision of public services[2], and as the main obstacle for overcoming the existing fiscal and economic crisis[3]. Thus, to attain a new 'modernisation' of the country, the model of administration of the state had to be changed.

In this context, Silva Junior notes that Brazil became "the country of reforms".[4] There was an economic reform, a fiscal reform, a reform of the tax system and of the pensions scheme, a Constitutional reform, and an educational reform, amongst many others[5]. For example, in an official advertisement placed by the government in a newspaper of São Paulo the slogan "Stabilisation and Reforms" was positioned next to the Brazilian flag, together with the following phrase: "Without Reforms there is no development"[6] Some extracts from the text that completed the official advertisement can

further illustrate Cardoso's emphasis on administrative reforms:

> The Economic Reform has already been approved by the National Congress, and this is the beginning of the modernisation of the country. An open economy and privatisations will allow for private initiatives to replace the Government in those areas in which the private sector is more efficient...and will allow the Government to invest in social areas, such as health, education, aiming at reducing social inequalities...Other reforms are being sent to the National Congress for their approval...The road towards Brazil's development requires reforms. With them, each one of us will be able to fulfil his or her role in the future of the country. And the Government will be able to do its part...[7]

Thus, it was through a reform of the state apparatus that, in the view of the government, Brazil would be modernised. The Brazilian economy became very dependent on international capital and vulnerable to the mobility of this capital[8]. Increasingly higher rates were offered to attract and retain foreign investments, and this resulted in a fivefold increase of the public debt from 1994 to 1999. Similarly, Brazilian external debt grew from US$ 150 billion in 1994 to US$ 235 billion by the end of 1998.[9]

Given this financial vulnerability, Brazil's relation with international financial institutions, such as the IMF, World Bank and IDB, became more and more important. However, the importance of these relations was not in the financial assistance of these organisations which accounted for a small percentage of the country's GDP[10]. Rather, as Castells notes, credit given by the IMF and other 'donor' agencies meant credibility for global financial investors, while withdrawal of these agencies' confidence meant, for a given country, "becoming a financial pariah"[11]. Consequently, it was on the basis of the policy recommendations of these international agencies that the new model of public policy was designed and implemented[12].

Decentralisation was considered, both by international institutions and by the Brazilian government, as a fundamental instrument for the 'modernisation' of public administration[13]. The idea was that decentralisation would give more participation to civil society in public matters and that this would result in a more democratic and efficient use of public resources[14]. Consequently, the reform of the Brazilian state was based on three premises. In the first place, public resources and the power to make administrative decisions were devolved to the regional and local levels. At the same time, the central level retained the power to define the overall goals, ideally expressed as quantifiable objectives that would become the locus of the contract between the central and local levels. Finally, the control system shifted: the evaluation of results displaced the existing system based on the inspection of every step in the administrative process[15].

Thus, the rationale for the great number of reforms implemented by the Brazilian government was based on the need to respond to a series of changes that were taking place at the world level. Since these changes were 'external', they were portrayed as being inevitable. Consequently, the debate was presented as a binary option: to adapt or not to adapt; but the question of how to adapt was rendered by the government as an issue that was already resolved. In other words, if Brazil wanted to adapt to the new world order, the new model of administration of the state that had to be implemented had to be based on the culture of performativity: centralising as much as possible the definition of policy objectives and the evaluation of results, whilst decentralising as far as possible the execution of these policies. As has been shown in Chapter Three, in education, this administrative model was promoted by international agencies.

Within the overall aim of adapting to the information age, the reform of the educational system was considered fundamental. The idea was that "economic globalisation" confronted Brazil with problems of competitiveness, and that the existence of "qualified human resources" was indispensable to solve these problems[16]. Once again, the need for reform was justified by external pressures; in this case, by the need to succeed in the international economic competition.

Consequently, this thesis suggests that the educational reform implemented in Brazil was not triggered by an analysis of the specific problems faced by Brazilian education. Rather, the ideal model of an educational system for the information age promoted by international agencies was appropriated as a norm to judge educational policies and practices in Brazil and, then, as a model for reform. Thus, in the educational policies implemented in Brazil since 1995, emphasis was placed on a number of principles that are very similar to those promoted by international agencies: decentralisation, school autonomy, a new curricular policy based on the notion of competencies, a central system of evaluation of educational results, and the professionalisation of teachers.

A new *Lei de Diretrizes e Bases da Educação* (Law of Guidelines and Foundations of Education) was passed[17]. In addition, the reformist view that dominated Brazil at that time resulted in a great number of regulations, projects and programmes: Education for all; Ten-Year Educational Plan; National Curricular Parameters and National Curricular Guidelines for basic education, for higher education, for pre-school

education, for adult education, for professional and technological education and for teacher education; a National Evaluation System for Basic Education (SAEB), a scheme called National Examination of Courses that evaluates different university courses through an exam for graduates; a National Examination for Middle School graduates, the decentralisation of educational services, the Fund for the Maintenance and Development of Primary Education and Teacher Enhancement (FUNDEF), and the Law of Autonomy for Universities.[18]

Thus, the new government proposed a reform of the whole educational system. This thesis has suggested that the reform strategies of the Brazilian government followed the principles promoted by international agencies in their universal model of education. An example of the influence of international agencies can be seen in the new configuration of the relations between different levels of government, educational institutions and the community that has been implemented in Brazil. This new organisation of the educational system is based on the principles of decentralisation and school autonomy, advocated by international agencies. Moreover, the interpretation that these two concepts (decentralisation and school autonomy) have been given in Brazilian policies is very similar to meanings given to these concepts in the proposals of international agencies.

As has been noted in Chapter Three, the universal model of education promoted by international agencies included the proposition that decentralisation is an "essential condition of effective educational innovation".[19] According to these agencies, centralised systems are difficult to change and many failures of educational reform have

resulted from the lack of involvement of the community, teachers and schools.[20] Similarly, school autonomy is promoted as a principle that would increase the "efficiency of learning" by making schools more flexible and able to respond to change and to local conditions.[21]

However, the concept of decentralisation can be subject to different interpretations. UNESCO, the World Bank and OECD promoted a very specific meaning of this concept, recommending particular roles and responsibilities for the central government and for institutions. From the point of view of these organisations, it is fundamental that decentralisation measures are complemented by a strong central administration that provides overall regulation, setting standards and guiding all the parties involved in education towards "collectively agreed" long-term objectives[22]. In this perspective, schools should be accountable to parents and communities for the learning outcomes, which should be measured by centrally decided indicators of performance, such as examinations and evaluations systems[23].

This interpretation of concepts of decentralisation and school autonomy was adopted in the policies that were implemented in Brazil in the 1990s. The *Lei de Diretrizes e Bases da Educação* (LDB) established that the Federal Government, with the collaboration of states and municipalities, is in charge of elaborating a national education plan and setting the curricular guidelines for basic education, ensuring a common basic education in all of the national territory.[24] In addition, the Federal Government is in charge of collecting and analysing information on the educational system and establishing a national evaluation system for students in basic, secondary and

higher education.[25]

Brazilian schools were given – in theory – academic, financial and administrative autonomy. The LDB established that schools must create and execute their own pedagogy, administer their personnel and material and financial resources, and guarantee the number of school days established at the national level and the achievement of teachers' plans. Schools should provide the means to assist pupils with low performance, they should integrate with the families and the community, and should inform parents about the performance of their children and about the school's 'institutional project'.[26]

School autonomy was strengthened in Brazil by the implementation of a new method in the selection of principals, combining direct elections and selection criteria based on the qualifications and professional competence of candidates.[27] In addition, the implementation of the 'Money in the School Programme' enables the automatic transfer of money from the Federal Government to schools[28]. In order to participate, schools have to create a School Council or a Parents-Teachers Association (APM)[29], which are the most important normative and executive organisations in the administration of the school.[30] The money is deposited in the APM or Council's account, and they manage the funds together with the school principal.[31]

Thus, although decentralisation has been a part of Brazilian education since the *Ato Adicional* of 1834[32], the policies implemented in the 1990's have taken this principle a step further by delegating the provision of educational services from the states to

municipalities[33], and by granting some autonomy to schools[34]. Furthermore, a new meaning has been given to this concept. In this new vision, what is mainly decentralised is the execution of policies, whilst the central government has significantly increased its power to conceive these policies[35]. In this way, the culture of performativity pervades the educational system with the imposition of performance indicators that connect the 'policy producing centre' with the 'policy-practising peripheries'[36] which are granted more autonomy to attain pre-set goals. At the same time, the central state retains the power to evaluate the performance in the attainment of these goals[37]. As has been mentioned different systems were established by the Federal Government to evaluate basic education, middle school, higher education courses, and adult education[38]. The INEP (National Institute for Educational Studies and Research), in charge of these evaluation systems, became the biggest agency within the structure of the National Ministry of Education[39].

The logic behind the new meaning that has been adopted for decentralisation in Brazil is that the design of general objectives and the processes of control should be as centralised as possible, whilst the execution of educational services should be as decentralised as possible. This model would guarantee – in theory – an improvement in the quality of the services that are offered to citizens, and the optimisation in the use of resources.

Quantitatively, the process of municipalisation of educational services in Brazil was highly successful. In 1997, 59.3% of schools were under the control of the states, while municipal schools accounted for 40.7% of all schools in Brazil. By 2000, the

proportion of state schools fell to 48.7%, while the share of municipal schools grew to 51.3%.[40] This shift in enrolments was celebrated by the government as a major achievement.[41]

However, if the main objective behind this process was the improvement of the quality of the education that was offered to students, the success is less clear. Lins de Azevedo notes that although these policies might have contributed to an expansion in overall enrolments, scarcity of financial resources in municipalities has resulted in an increase in enrolments that has not been followed by an expansion and improvement of school buildings and other material resources. Thus, in many municipalities, there has been an increase in the number of students per class, and this has aggravated the precariousness of the quality of education that is offered, and has made the working conditions of teachers worse[42].

Another aim of the municipalisation of basic education in Brazil was to contribute to an effective democratisation of the management of schools and public resources.[43] Although the results of these measures have varied according to the level of social and political organisation within different localities, the overall aim of democratisation has not been attained. In general, municipal governments have tried to guarantee the formal existence of School Councils and APMs to comply with legal regulations, but these councils have been overtaken by the power structures that have traditionally existed in municipalities, and the actual involvement of the community in decision-making has not happened.[44] Lins de Azevedo suggests an explanation for this failure:

> The processes of decentralisation of educational policies, as have been promoted by the central government, seem to ignore the diversity that characterises Brazilian society. These processes, that assume the participation of civil society, tend to be based on a representation of our society that takes for granted the existence of social structures and relations that are democratically consolidated...these political measures do not consider the degree of social disarticulation that exists in local spaces, and the archaic structure of power that survives in many of these localities, due to the poorness that characterises most of our municipal net.[45]

Thus, problems in the implementation of decentralisation policies in Brazilian education seem to be closely related to the main theme of this thesis: the definition of global proposals that do not have much consideration for the specific contexts in which these recommendations are being implemented. When international agencies suggest that decentralisation policies are fundamental, and that these policies will promote the involvement of the community in schools, this claim is made as an abstract ideal. However, as this ideal is put into practice, the effects can be very different according to the diverse contexts in which this principle is applied.

Another example of how the universal model of education designed by international agencies has been appropriated in Brazil can be seen in the new curricular policies that have been implemented in this country in the 1990s.

As has been shown in Chapter Three, UNESCO, the World Bank, and OECD have a very specific and similar view of what it is to be educated for the information age. Students need to be prepared for a working life in which they will have to handle complex technologies and to demonstrate creativity, innovation and adaptability[46]. In addition, the speed at which new knowledge is created and the 'fact' that technologies will permanently, and rapidly, evolve denote the need for a system of lifelong learning[47].

Individuals will have to learn actively and continuously throughout their lives, forever adapting to the changing requirements of the labour markets – which are themselves affected by technological changes[48].

At the same time, lifelong learning implies that it is fundamental that children receive a high-quality basic education so that they can acquire a set of core skills that will permit them to learn throughout their lives[49]. International agencies recommend that vocational contents or "occupational skills" should be abandoned in the curriculum, which should concentrate on transmitting basic general competencies such as communication skills, creativity, flexibility, learning to learn, the ability to work in groups and to solve problems.[50] In addition, since the rapid changes predicted by UNESCO, the World Bank, and OECD will be led by technology, science and technology become fundamental contents in the curriculum alongside mathematics, reading and writing.[51]

The new curricular policy of Brazil, defined by the LDB, gave the Federal Government the responsibility for designing curricular guidelines for initial, fundamental and secondary education, with the aim of guaranteeing a common national base for all Brazilian students [52]. The National Curricular Parameters (PCN), as these curricular guidelines have been called, have to be complemented by a "diversified part" that is decided by each local government and by schools themselves, according to regional and local characteristics[53]. The idea of having a common national curriculum was something new for Brazil, where curricular contents had traditionally been defined at the state level.

The analysis that follows takes the PCN for secondary education as an example, suggesting that these curricular documents have appropriated the ideas of lifelong learning, a curriculum based on certain basic competencies, and separating vocational education from the secondary school curriculum.

The PCN for secondary education have been organised in Brazil around basic competencies and abilities that students must develop, like creativity[54], adaptability[55], learning to learn and problem solving.[56] These are distributed in three areas: "Languages, Codes and their Technologies", "Natural Sciences. Mathematics and their Technologies" and "Human Sciences and their Technologies".[57] Different objectives for each of the three years of secondary education are not defined; instead, secondary education is taken as a single phase.[58]

The PCN do not specify any contents at all. They start by criticising earlier forms of secondary education in Brazil, stating that it was "decontextualised, compartmentalised, and based on the accumulation of information."[59] Consequently, the point of departure for the new curricular documents is the 'crisis' of Brazilian education.

This 'crisis' justifies a new proposal that concentrates on basic competencies and tries to relate school knowledge to its context, to promote inter-disciplinary work, and to promote reasoning and the capacity for learning.[60] Encyclopaedic contents are rejected.[61] Curricular guidelines for secondary education state that schools, when organising their curricula, must acknowledge that contents are not an end in themselves,

but a means to construct cognitive and social competencies, that should be prioritised over information.[62] However, the encyclopaedic culture was not completely abandoned in Brazil: although the PCN were organised into three areas, when defining the knowledge that all Brazilian students must acquire each of these 'areas' was divided into different disciplines. Adding up the different disciplines specified within the three areas results in fourteen different subjects that must be taught[63].

The PCN for secondary education concentrate on suggesting pedagogical strategies that teachers could use to transmit the competencies that are recommended.[64] The PCN for Natural Sciences, Mathematics and its Technologies note that "...the whole school must have a new methodological posture that is difficult to implement, since it requires changing teaching habits that are very consolidated."[65] However, they only mention and describe possible pedagogic strategies that could replace the "old" ones but they do not give guidance for their implementation.[66] These new pedagogic strategies that are mentioned are very much dominated by constructivist theories.[67]

In Brazil, the PCN for secondary education leave in the hands of schools and teachers the selection of contents and pedagogical strategies to attain certain objectives that are not clearly defined. The PCN are composed of 313 pages[68] that present a series of definitions and broad theoretical problems that are left unresolved. For example the section that refers to Physical Education says:

> The complex human body relates to the world by moving. When the body moves, the senses capture information... Owing to its dual character, the sign can be part of the external world of the human body, or of its internal world. The constitution of the individual into a human being results from the internalisation of social signs... Whether a movement of the body is

> "right" or "wrong" is socially determined... The establishment of cultural patterns of body motion seems to be a natural phenomenon... *In this sense, what is expected from a secondary student is a broad comprehension and performance of cultural corporal manifestations.*[69]

It is the task of schools and teachers to find the best strategies to solve these problems. The letter to teachers, that opens the PCN and is signed by the Minister of Education, finishes by saying: "By handing you these documents we reaffirm our confidence in your capacity to act in order to positively transform our country's education."[70]

Finally, it should be noted that secondary education has been separated from professional education, although both are kept under the same administrative agency: the Secretary for Middle School and Technology[71]. Professional education is understood as a complement to basic education.[72] The LDB establishes that professional education is open to graduates of basic, secondary or higher education, and to young and adult workers.[73]

Thus, the curricular transformation in Brazilian education has included some of the principles that are promoted by international agencies. For the first time in Brazilian history, the Federal Government retained the responsibility for defining common contents for all Brazilian schools – centralisation of the definition of objectives. At the same time, schools and teachers are given more freedom to choose the specific contents that can be taught to attain these objectives – decentralisation of execution. Vocational contents were removed from secondary education and the traditional encyclopaedic curriculum – based on facts and information – was displaced by a curricular document based on the transmission of competencies. The official view in Brazil seems to agree

with international agencies that some of the most important competencies that should be promoted amongst students are flexibility, adaptability, learning to learn, creativity, and problem solving.

However, the encyclopaedic culture survived in the fourteen subjects that were maintained by the curricular reform. Nevertheless, this contradiction with the official point of view that explicitly rejects encyclopaedic contents was masked behind the division of the PCN into three areas and the promotion of inter-disciplinary work in schools. The names that were given to the three curricular areas, all of them followed by the phrase "...and their Technologies", expresses the importance assigned to technology by the Brazilian state. In addition, in opposition to the prescriptive curricula of the past, a huge range of new responsibilities is deposited in the hands of the schools and especially in the hands of teachers. They have become the essential executors of a set of policies and recommendations that are widely (and not very clearly) defined, and give them – at least in theory – an extremely ample frame for action. Furthermore, the Minister of Education explicitly makes them responsible for the transformation of Brazilian education.

Consequently, the professionalisation of teachers through a new 'paradigm' for teacher education was a fundamental part of the educational reform that was implemented in Brazil. However, before presenting an analysis of reforms of teacher education in Argentina and Brazil, the strategic directions of the educational reform initiated in Argentina in the 1990s will be analysed and compared to the Brazilian case.

Adapting Argentine education to the information age

In 1989 Argentina was going through a severe economic and social crisis. With a monthly inflation rate of over 200%[74] and salaries depreciating by the hour, rioters took to the streets and the situation became unsustainable for the government[75]. By July 1989 President Alfonsín resigned[76]. Menem, who had been democratically elected but was supposed to take office only in December, assumed the presidency six months in advance[77].

The new government blamed the "interventionist state" and Argentina's closed economy for the crisis[78]. Consequently, the opposite route – a smaller state and an open economy – was presented as the only possible option to overcome the crisis[79]. In this way, the government used the crisis to obtain political support for the 'modernisation' of the state, presenting the situation as a binary option: 'either we change or we remain a backward country'[80]. In addition there was a strong rhetoric about 'keeping up with the times' and "re-inserting Argentina into the First World"[81]. In this context, and given Argentina's economic crisis and a significant external debt, the relations with international credit organisations were considered as being fundamental[82], and there was an effort to translate the proposals of these organisations – sometimes referred to as 'the Washington Consensus' – as internal consensus[83].

The 'modernisation' of the state was launched through a series of pro-market reforms following the recipes of international organisations[84]. The new vision of the state was expressed in President Menem's inaugural speech:

> We are going to re-found the state putting it at the service of the people, and not at the service of bureaucracies...I come here to announce that we will adopt a resolute policy of administrative decentralisation. Everything that can be done by individuals themselves will no longer be done by the National State.[85]

This vision was put into practice through a number of privatisations (roads, trains, airports, communications, post, oil, gas, electricity and water companies, amongst others) and through a great number of reforms: Constitutional reform, reform of the state, liberalisation of international trade, flexibilisation of labour laws, tax reform, economic reform and educational reform[86].

It is suggested in this section that in such a context the educational reform implemented in Argentina in the 1990s took the 'crisis' of the educational system as a starting point and proposed a complete reformulation of the educational system through an all-embracing reform. It is also suggested in this section that this reform was based on the proposals of international agencies.

The first steps in the search for the transformation of the educational system were aimed at completing the process of decentralisation of educational services that had started in 1978 with the military government forcing all responsibility for primary education into the provinces without their approval and without any technical, financial or institutional resources.[87] In 1992, the Law of the Transfer of Educational Services extended the decentralisation of Argentine education with the transfer of all secondary schools and non-university higher education to the provinces[88]. This initial transformation was led by the Ministry of Economy, and was guided by an 'economic efficiency' rationale: the national state was in charge of most of the educational system

and this implied too many employees and too many costs that should be transferred to the provinces[89].

However, the transfer of educational services to the provinces was not enough for the transformation of an educational system that was perceived as being in a crisis and frozen in the nineteenth century[90]. An all-embracing reform of the educational system was implemented aiming at adapting the system to the twenty-first century[91].

The 're-foundation' of the Argentine educational system was launched by the *Ley Federal de Educación* (LFE) that was passed in 1993. For the first time in Argentine history a law of education regulated all the levels and modalities of the educational system as an integrated unit[92].

Tiramonti notes that while the structural adjustment policies that were being implemented at the national level tended to reduce the functions of the state, the National Ministry of Education acquired with the educational reform an increasingly prominent role that is only comparable with the importance that was assigned to education during the foundational period of the Argentine educational system in the nineteenth century[93]. This same author refers to the "hyper-activity" of the national state in the production of proposals for action, plans and programmes[94].

The Law of the Transfer of Educational Services and the LFE have already been mentioned. There was also a Higher Education Law[95]; a Federal Council of Education was instituted[96]; a Federal Educational Pact was signed; and the whole structure of the

Argentine educational system – traditionally divided into seven years of primary education and five years of secondary education – was changed[97]. In addition, several programmes were established such as the National System of Evaluation (SINEC)[98], the National Commission for the Evaluation of Universities (CONEAU)[99], a Social Educational Plan[100], a Federal Net of Continuous Teacher Training[101], and Curricular Reforms for Pre-school Education, General Basic Education, *Polimodal* (secondary education) and for Teacher Education.[102]

Thus, it was not only some aspects of the educational system that were changed with the reform. Rather, the reform proposed a complete revision of the educational system to adapt it to the twenty-first century. It has been suggested in this section that the reform was based on certain principles that are very similar to those promoted by international agencies: decentralisation, school autonomy, a new curricular policy based on the notion of competencies, a central system of evaluation of educational results, and the professionalisation of teachers.

The process of decentralisation of Argentine education – which started in 1978 and continued in 1992 – was completed by the LFE that provided the basic financial and organisational guidelines to support the transfer of schools to the provinces[103]. It is in this law that the final configuration of the relations between different levels of the state, educational institutions and the community was established[104].

In Argentina, having decentralised the provision of educational services, the role that the LFE established for the National State was to design common national curricula

for all levels, organise teacher training, and co-ordinate and implement research programmes.[105] The National Ministry of Education must also guarantee the functioning of the system by creating a national system of evaluation and developing federal programmes for technical and financial co-operation aimed at attaining quality education in all of the national territory.[106]

Meanwhile, Argentine provincial governments are in charge of planning, organising and administering their own educational systems[107]. In the Argentine case, no responsibilities were assigned to the municipal level, leaving the administration of schools in charge of the provinces.[108] In addition, provincial governments design their local curricula, following the common national contents, and they authorise and supervise private schools in their jurisdiction[109]. In order to unify criteria and to obtain agreements between the national level and the different jurisdictions in the design of national policies, the LFE instituted the Federal Council of Education[110]. The National Minister of Education is the President of this Council, and the provincial ministers of education are its other members.[111]

School autonomy is not mentioned by the LFE.[112] Yet, when establishing the criteria for compatible curricular design in the different provinces, the Federal Council stated that "the school is the fundamental unit for the specification of the institutional project".[113] The Institutional Educational Project should be produced by each school, adapting the provincial curriculum to its own reality and defining the instructional strategies and methods to be used in the delivery of the curriculum.[114] Each school should build its own organisational structure based on its needs, and with the

participation of teachers the school should decide on the flexible use of time, space and grouping of students.[115] Principals should establish indicators to obtain information about the school's performance in relation to its Institutional Project.[116] All of the actors involved in an institution should participate in the design of the Project. These working groups were encouraged to base their decisions on the priorities and problems of each particular school, but they had to respect the general guidelines established by the National State and provincial authorities.[117]

However, the legal frame was not changed. For example, teachers are not chosen at the school level – by the principal. They are appointed at the provincial level and imposed on the school. Supervisors and principals were not assigned new roles, and an information system that would allow schools that perform well to be distinguished from schools that do not perform so well has not been established[118].

Furthermore, current literature has shown that even though the design of Institutional Projects has been made compulsory for schools, this has not been followed by processes that encouraged real autonomy in schools – which were used to a vertical structure[119]. Institutional Projects became another bureaucratic document that the central administration required from schools. Far from fostering the participation of teachers and teamwork, Projects were in most cases written by principals with the sole objective of presenting the documents to their superiors.[120] Consequently, since significant school autonomy did not happen in practice, most decisions related to 'the provision of educational services' have been moved from the national to the provincial level, but they are still being taken by the state.

Thus, the principle of decentralisation promoted by international agencies, suggesting that the definition of policies and the evaluation of results should be as centralised as possible while the execution of these policies should be as decentralised as possible, has been partially followed in Argentina. The central state has retained the power to define policies and evaluate results, but the decisions on the execution of policies has only been moved to the provincial level (except for a few pedagogic decisions that can be taken at schools). Nevertheless, the general idea that the execution of policies should be decentralised was followed, although the policies that were implemented could be better described as "provincialisation" rather than decentralisation[121].

Another example of how the universal model of education designed by international agencies has been appropriated in Argentina can be seen in the new curricular policies that have been implemented in this country in the 1990s.

In Argentina, the curricular reform that was implemented in the 1990s implied a significant rupture with previous curricular policies. As has been mentioned in Chapter Four, until the 1990s programmes and curricula for different educational levels were designed with great detail by the National State (with limited participation of provincial states). Teachers had to restrict their lessons strictly to the contents included within these documents and they also had to follow the sequence that was established. Some curricular documents even defined the activities that the teacher should perform in the classroom to transmit the contents.[122]

The curricular reform of the 1990s changed the contents that had to be taught. It was also aimed at redesigning the relation between the National State, the provincial states, teachers and contents. The responsibility for curricular design was left in the hands of the provinces. On the other hand, to guarantee minimal common contents for all Argentine students, Common Basic Contents (CBC) were designed at the national level. These were to be used as guidelines for the design of provincial curricula.

The analysis that follows takes the CBC for *Polimodal* as an example, suggesting that the idea of what it is to be educated for the information age has been adopted from international agencies through principles such as lifelong learning, a curriculum based on the transmission of certain competencies, and separating vocational education from the secondary school curriculum.

When approving the CBC for *Polimodal*, the Federal Council decided that the selected contents should promote the acquisition of competencies and that the inclusion of information should be subordinated to concepts, norms, values and attitudes that have to be transmitted.[123] It was also established that the CBC should be socially valuable and that they should be flexible and capable of becoming a useful tool for the resolution of simulated and real problems, promoting the synthesis between theory and practice.[124] In the selection of the contents, the "eagerness to include everything"[125] should be abandoned.

The curriculum for the *Polimodal* Level is divided into three different degrees of

specification. In the first place, the Common Basic Contents refer to the common competencies that every person needs to elaborate his or her own project of life and to participate actively in society.[126] In the second place, the Oriented Basic Contents define the curricula for each one of *Polimodal's* five modalities (Natural Sciences, Humanities, Social Sciences, Communications, Arts and Design, Production of Goods and Services, and Economy and Business Administration)[127]. Finally, the Differentiated Contents allow for each institution to specify the Oriented Contents according to its context and the characteristics of its students and its teachers.[128]

The Common Basic Contents are divided into ten chapters[129]. Each chapter takes *Polimodal* Education as a whole, they do not specify contents for each of the three years. They are divided into five blocks: the first three specify contents, while the other two stipulate attitudes and behaviours that should cut across the contents.[130] The documents stress that this organisation in blocks does not prescribe an organisation for the delivery of the curricula.[131]

The Argentine CBC mainly promote the acquisition of competencies: when the documents define what is expected from students at the end of the three years they do not refer to contents in themselves, but to skills that are related to those contents[132]. However, the influences of an encyclopaedic tradition persist in a syllabus with ten chapters to which oriented and differentiated contents have to be added.

In addition, *Polimodal* Education can be combined with "technical-professional channels". These channels are optional and offer students an initial professional

education that will help them obtain their first job in a specific occupational area.[133] Technical-professional channels are offered to students who have completed compulsory education and are attending (or have finished) *Polimodal* Education.[134] These courses must be structured in modules and be combinable with professional and higher education in order to promote lifelong learning.[135]

Thus, an effort was made in the Argentine curricular reform to abandon the encyclopaedic and prescriptive tradition through a curriculum based on competencies. This curriculum should only be used as a guide to guarantee some basic contents in all of the Argentine schools, allowing for the specific definition of contents to be made at the provinces and schools according to their particular characteristics. In addition, principles of lifelong learning and separating vocational from secondary education have been followed.

However, these changes in curricular policy were not fully respected in practice. The National State defined so many 'basic' contents that it became almost impossible for schools or teachers to introduce other contents. Once the CBC were approved by the Federal Council, they were not sent to the provincial educational authorities. Instead, they were distributed directly to all schools in the country. When teachers received the CBC they used the documents as if they were a traditional curriculum, and followed them in every single detail.[136]At the same time, since publishing companies could not adapt to each of the provincial markets, they published the same textbooks – based on the CBC – for every province. Consequently, the CBC were not taken as 'basic contents' – a guide that should be adapted to different local contexts, but rather as a prescriptive

curriculum in the traditional sense in Argentina.

Therefore, this section has shown that an all-embracing reform of the educational system was implemented in Argentina, aiming at restructuring the system to adapt it to the information age. Furthermore, the examples presented in this section have shown that global educational discourse has influenced official rhetoric in Argentina in the 1990s. At this level, concepts of decentralisation and of a curricular policy for the information age promoted by international agencies have been adopted.

However, this section has also pointed out that as global influences moved from official rhetoric to practice some of the older traditions of education in Argentina survived. For example, in official rhetoric in Argentina it was noted that decentralisation and school autonomy could be beneficial for the Argentine educational system. However, in an educational system that has worked for over 150 years with a tight control of the central state over educational institutions it is not easy for the agents who have to put this abstract ideal into practice to devolve real power to principals and teachers.

Similarly, official rhetoric states as a declaration of principles that encyclopaedic contents should be abandoned in Argentine curricula and replaced by a curriculum based on the transmission of competencies, and that curricula should no longer be fully defined at the national level, but rather – respecting diversity – each province should define the details of curricular contents. However, as has been shown, it is not so easy putting these principles into practice in an educational system in which most decisions (including

curricular definition) have been highly centralised at the national level, and curricular policies have been traditionally based on an encyclopaedic and prescriptive culture.

The problems in translating the abstract ideals expressed by international agencies (and by Argentine official rhetoric) into practice exist because as global educational discourse moves into the Argentine context it does not move into a vacuum. It has been said that discourses are a form of power that circulate in the social field, maintaining or disrupting power relations through the construction of social meaning. As global educational discourse moves into the Argentine educational system – promoting specific meanings of the relation between the National State, provincial states, schools and teachers, and of curricular policy – it overlaps with available discourses that included very different meanings of these concepts.

In the example previously presented in which Argentine bureaucrats sent the national curricular guidelines directly to schools, and teachers used them as if they were the traditional prescriptive document, global educational discourse was recontextualized within the principles of available dominant discourses by those who had to put policy into practice: what happened was a collective reading of a text in habitual terms.

Thus, both Brazil and Argentina have implemented complete reforms of their educational systems. The overall rationale for these exhaustive reforms was found in the need to adapt to a 'new world order': globalisation and the information age. Consequently, the governments presented the need to adapt to these external 'pressures' as something inevitable; and the question of how to adapt was portrayed as something

that was already resolved.

In the case of education, it was international agencies' ideal model of education for the information age that was used to judge the Argentine and Brazilian educational systems, and then as a model for reform. The logic was that the Argentine and Brazilian educational systems might have been fit for an industrial age, but they were not appropriate for the information age. Consequently, the all-embracing reforms of the Argentine and Brazilian educational systems were based on the decentralisation of educational services, school autonomy, a new curricular policy based on the notion of competencies, a central evaluation system, and the professionalisation of teachers. However, several problems have been identified in the translation of these policies into practice both in Argentina and in Brazil.

Teachers are some of the fundamental agents that should put the abstract polices promoted by international agencies into practice. Thus, both the Argentine and Brazilian reform packages included a reform of initial teacher education.

One of the overall arguments of this thesis is that 'global educational discourse' has influenced the reforms of teacher education that were implemented in Argentina and in Brazil in the 1990s, defining a set of implicit rules that divide thinkable form unthinkable ideas and the kind of policies that can be practised from those that cannot be practised.

To explore this argument, the reforms of teacher education in Argentina and in

Brazil in the 1990s will be examined in the next section through an analysis of the curricular guidelines for teacher education that have been defined at the national level in these countries. In addition other official documents and regulations that support the curricular reform will be considered.

The Argentine and Brazilian teacher of the future

It has been suggested in this chapter that in the new curricular policies for teacher education in Argentina and Brazil concepts of pedagogic identity, pedagogic knowledge and curricular control have been given a meaning that is very similar to the meanings that have been identified in the proposals of international agencies in Chapter Three. Therefore, this section will examine the specific meaning that has been given in Argentine and Brazilian official regulations and curricula to these three concepts. However, before moving into this analysis, a brief reminder of the overall meaning that was given to these concepts in global educational discourse will be presented.

As has been mentioned in Chapter Three, OECD, the World Bank and UNESCO stress that teachers should receive the same kind of education that they are expected to offer the students with whom they will work. Thus, these agencies suggest that the curricula for teacher education should not be organised around the transmission of specific knowledge and information. Instead, they advocate a teacher training system based on the acquisition of competencies.

In the universal model for teacher education offered by these international

agencies the 'pedagogic identity' that is promoted for teachers defines their professional role as one in which their main task is to prepare students for work in a technologically driven, ever changing future. Thus, good teachers are defined as those who are responsible for their own learning throughout their career, and open to links with the community and the world of work. In addition, teachers should be adaptable, able to work in teams and to reflect on their own practice.

Along these lines, the meaning given to 'pedagogic knowledge' in global educational discourse stresses adaptability, flexibility and experimentation. Therefore, teachers should be given a wide range of pedagogic skills from which to choose, adapting their pedagogy to local contexts and needs of individual students, placing the student at the centre of the learning process. This pedagogic knowledge should be obtained mainly through the active participation of trainees in practice-based training.

The meaning given to 'curricular control' in global educational discourse emphasises autonomy and creativity on the side of teachers who should be able to choose the specific contents of the lessons according to local context and students' characteristics, but respecting general guidelines from the central agencies of the state.

Pedagogic identity

In Argentina, from 1993, the education of teachers is regulated by the LFE, the *Ley de Educacion Superior* [Higher Education Law], and by several regulations approved by the Federal Council of Education. Amongst these regulations, the Federal

Council has designed Common Basic Contents (CBC) for teacher education in Argentina.[137]

These new regulations emphasise the need for a complete restructuring of teacher education, since the new system needs teachers with "new professional competencies, both in terms of contents and of institutional practices"[138]. A new meaning is given to the concept of pedagogic identity in Argentine official discourse.

The first notion that was introduced into the definition of pedagogic identity was 'lifelong learning'. All the institutions of teacher education in Argentina were organised under a "Federal Net of Continuous Teacher Training"[139]. Amongst the obligations established for teachers, the LFE has given them the responsibility for their own "permanent training"[140]. Furthermore, the Federal Council has defined teacher education as "a continuous process of professional preparation for a specific role, to teach"[141].

Another idea that was included within the meaning given to pedagogic identity in Argentine official discourse was that teachers should establish links with the community. This is another of the obligations that the LFE has set for teachers[142]. One of the criteria for evaluating teacher-training institutions is the relation that they have established with the community[143]. The idea is that teachers should be open to links with the community since their initial education. Similarly, the *Ley de Educacion Superior* established that teacher education has to be "related to the cultural and productive activities of each locality and region"[144]. The CBC for teacher education repeatedly mention that teachers should be open to the world outside the school[145]. Special

emphasis is placed on the openness of teachers to the world of work:

> Knowing the characteristics of the contemporary world of work, the new forms in which production processes are organised, the different forms in which employment is generated, the competencies and qualifications that are required, will allow teachers to understand the need for lifelong learning...[146]

Not only should teachers be open to the world outside the school, but they should also collaborate in administrative and organisational aspects of the school in which they work[147]. Within the "General Pedagogic Area" in the CBC for teacher education there is a whole section related to 'group work'[148]. For example, one of the activities promoted in this section is the "exchange of didactic experiences amongst colleagues, aiming at the enhancement of teaching practices, the consolidation of working teams, and the improvement of pedagogic production in institutions"[149].

In addition, ideal teachers are defined as 'reflective practitioners' in Argentine official discourse. According to the Federal Council, teacher training institutions should perform three basic roles: initial teacher education, in-service training, and promotion of research. These three functions should be strongly related to one another. When defining the role of research and its relation to the other two functions, the Council states:

> Reflection and action will be part of the same process. Using the experience of individuals in research...will constitute a significant contribution for the modification of teaching practices[150].

Furthermore, a section in the CBC for teacher education that defines "General Attitudinal Contents" that should be transmitted to all future teachers promotes the "development of a reflexive attitude and intellectual openness, through a critical appropriation of knowledge"[151]. This same section also emphasises the need for "permanent innovation in the professional activities that are carried out in schools".[152]

The Federal Council also stresses the importance of identifying and disseminating innovative teaching practices.[153]

Thus, the meaning given to pedagogic identity in Argentine official discourse has shifted along the lines of the proposals of international agencies. Teachers have been made responsible for their own lifelong learning. They also have to establish links with the community and participate in the school's institutional duties. In addition, professional teachers are described as being creative and reflective practitioners.

Meanwhile, in Brazil, in a document that precedes the DCN for teacher education, in which the National Council of Education explains the reasons for adopting a new curricular design, the Council notes that one of the biggest obstacles for the improvement of Brazilian education has been the "inadequate" education traditionally offered to teachers.[154] Instead, the Council suggests that the education that teachers receive should be coherent with the kind of practice that is expected from them.[155]

Consequently, in order to have a high quality professional education for teachers, the need for a "new paradigm" in teacher education is emphasised in the DCN. The most important innovation in this new paradigm is that the education of teachers should be based on the transmission of competencies[156]. Furthermore, the DCN stress that the competencies that teachers need to become better professionals should guide the pedagogic project and the curricula of teacher training institutions[157]. Similarly, the institutional organisation and management of teacher training institutions should provide for the development of competencies[158]; and the competencies that are mentioned should

also act as a reference for "every assessment activity" in teacher education courses[159].

Therefore, the idea promoted by international agencies, that teachers should receive a kind of education that is similar to the kind of education that they should practice – an education based on the acquisition of competencies – has been included in the Brazilian reform.

A new pedagogic identity is being promoted amongst future teachers in Brazil. One of the ideas that was introduced in the new meaning given to pedagogic identity in official documents in Brazil was lifelong learning. In the DCN for teacher education, the need for lifelong learning is explained by the 'facts' that scientific and technologic transformations occur at an accelerated rate, and that knowledge has become one of the decisive factors of production.[160] Thus, the professional education of teachers should be understood as a permanent process, so that teachers can follow the constant "progress of knowledge".[161] Along these lines, the Council suggests that a national system of continuous professional development for all teachers in the educational system should be established.[162] Furthermore, the DCN establish that trainees should acquire the competencies that are necessary for "the management of their own professional development"[163]; and the LDB sets as one of the responsibilities of teachers that they have to participate in professional development activities[164].

Another notion included in the new meaning given to the concept of pedagogic identity in Brazilian official discourse is that teachers should be open to the world outside the school. The LDB especially mentions as one of the new responsibilities of

teachers that they should collaborate in establishing links between the school and the community.[165] In addition, the DCN for teacher education states that teacher training institutions should open up to the outside world[166]. Courses offered to future teachers should include the analysis of current social issues, providing a "solid and ample cultural education"[167]. Thus, the contents that should be used to promote the acquisition of competencies amongst future teachers should include general culture, and knowledge of the cultural, social, political, and economic dimensions of education, so that teachers can understand the context in which educational practices take place.[168]

In Brazilian official discourse, teachers are also defined as autonomous, reflective practitioners that have the ability to work in groups and to participate in the overall institutional activities of schools. In the LDB, Brazilian teachers are made responsible for the success of student learning – even for those students with different learning rhythms[169]. They also have to exercise their autonomy, elaborating their own working plan, and at the same time participate in the elaboration of the school's pedagogic proposal and other institutional duties.[170] Meanwhile, in the DCN professional teachers are defined as those who "can make decisions autonomously…and critically evaluate their own practices and the context in which they are working"[171]. Similarly, it is considered fundamental that future teachers "develop and exercise professional and intellectual autonomy, and a sense of personal and collective responsibility".[172] Following this, the DCN indicates that future teachers should develop the ability to collaborate with their colleagues and work in teams.[173] Finally, in the DCN it is explicitly stated that "learning [in teacher education] should be oriented by the general methodological principle that can be expressed as action-reflection-action,

which is aimed at problem-solving as one of the privileged didactic strategies"[174].

Therefore, the new pedagogic identity that is promoted in Brazilian official discourse stresses lifelong learning as a fundamental part of teacher education. The rationale for such an emphasis is found in the need to adapt to the 'progress of knowledge' and rapid technological transformations. Teachers are also expected to be 'open to the outside world', and they are made responsible for links between the school and the community. In addition, official regulations often highlight that teachers should learn how to work autonomously. It is expected that teachers should also be able to work in teams, participating in the institutional activities in schools. A final and fundamental feature that was included in the new meaning given to the concept of pedagogic identity in Brazil is that teachers should be reflective practitioners who should be able to assess critically their own work, accepting responsibility for the success of students' learning.

Pedagogic knowledge

In Argentine and Brazilian official discourse there was also a shift in the meaning given to the concept of pedagogic knowledge. In Argentine curricular regulations, the work of teachers is defined as an unpredictable activity in which teachers design their own strategies for pedagogic intervention according to each specific situation. For example, a document of the Federal Council states that teachers should know how to "act within certain margins that are not absolute, facing specific situations that are unique and unrepeatable"[175]. The notion of 'pedagogic methods' has been displaced by the idea of "pedagogic strategies".[176] This shift is related to the

objective of having teachers who have the "professional capacity to adapt their pedagogic intervention"[177]. Consequently, the "reflective analyses of problems", and the "development of innovations" should be promoted in teacher training in order to strengthen the ability of future teachers to make "fundamental decisions when teaching"[178]. The CBC stresses that future teachers should learn how to select and use didactic resources and technologies in a "critical way"[179]. Along these lines, one of the standards that has been established for teacher education is that by the end of their professional training teachers should be able to "offer a theoretical support to their pedagogic practices".[180]

It is the "diverse" characteristics of students and local context that should be considered by teachers to decide on the best strategy and didactic resources to use[181]. Within this context, child-centred pedagogy is stressed. One of the curricular areas that was made compulsory for all teacher-trainees has been called "*Mediacion Pedagogica*"[182] [Pedagogic Mediation]. The teacher is seen as a mediator between the student and knowledge.

Thus, the definition of the concept of pedagogic knowledge included in Argentine official discourse no longer emphasises an instrumental command of teaching methods. On the contrary, the new meaning given to this concept stresses a theoretical understanding of the teaching process so that teachers can autonomously and creatively decide on the best pedagogic strategies to use, according to the specific contexts and characteristics of the students with whom they work. At the same time, preference is given to a learner-centred pedagogy. Again, the meaning of pedagogic knowledge that

has been adopted in Argentine official discourse is quite similar to the one included in global educational discourse.

Changes in curricular policy in Brazil have also resulted in shifts in the meaning given to the concept of pedagogic knowledge in official discourse. The Brazilian PCN for basic and secondary education were designed for teachers[183]. They were produced to assist teachers in their work.[184] They have a double purpose: to deliver the principles of the curricular reform and to orient the teacher in the search for new strategies and methodologies.[185]

In the new meaning given to pedagogic knowledge in Brazilian official discourse, teachers are expected to select the most appropriate teaching strategies for each specific situation. This idea has been expressed in the DCN for teacher education. When defining the competencies related to pedagogic knowledge that future teachers should acquire, the document mentions the following:

> • To create, plan, implement, manage and evaluate efficient didactic situations for students' learning and development…
> • To use different and flexible modes of organising time, space, and grouping of students…
> • To use different strategies for transmitting contents, knowing how to choose the most adequate strategies, considering the diversity of students…
> • To identify, analyse and produce didactic materials and resources, diversifying the possible activities and considering the possibilities for their use in different situations.
> • To use diversified strategies to evaluate learning, using results to formulate proposals of pedagogic intervention…[186]

Concepts such as 'difference', 'flexible', and 'diverse' dominate the meaning given to pedagogic knowledge in Brazilian official discourse.

The selection, both of contents and of teaching strategies, should consider the different characteristics of pupils, "their social context, the needs of the contemporary world, and the principles, priorities and objectives of the institutional project and the curriculum"[187]. Consequently, a teacher that has to make so many decisions should be provided with a solid theoretical understanding of the pedagogic process. The DCN for teacher education place research as a fundamental part of teacher education.[188] Future teachers should develop a certain degree of autonomy to interpret "reality", the learning process, and the process by which the knowledge that constitutes the object of their work was constructed[189]. In this way, teachers would not be mere "transmitters of information". Instead they would be able to improvise, judging unexpected situations, and choosing the best action based on their own judgment.[190]

However, within the flexibility that is promoted to choose the best learning strategy for each specific situation, a learner-centred pedagogy is promoted. The DCN for teacher education stresses that teachers should not see knowledge as something that is transmitted, but rather as something that is being constructed;[191] and that "nothing can substitute the action of a student in the task of constructing meanings related to the contents of the learning process".[192]

Thus, the meaning given to pedagogic knowledge in Brazilian official discourse is very similar to the meaning that this concept has been given in the proposals of international agencies. Teachers should acquire in their initial training the ability to select different pedagogic strategies, and to choose and design didactic materials

according to the specific context in which they teach and the characteristics of pupils. Consequently, the kind of pedagogic knowledge they need for such tasks is a wide range of pedagogical strategies and a solid theoretical understanding of the pedagogic process. Even though diversity of teaching methods is promoted, child-centred pedagogy is especially emphasised in Brazilian official discourse.

Curricular control

Following curricular reforms in Argentina and Brazil, a new meaning has also been given to the concept of 'curricular control' in official rhetoric in these countries. The curricular reform in Argentina implied a major rupture with previous policies. As has been mentioned earlier, prescriptive curricular documents based on an encyclopaedic culture were displaced by curricular documents based on competencies and established as guidelines for schools and teachers to define the actual contents.

Teachers in Argentina should participate in the design of the Institutional Projects that adapt the provincial curriculum to the reality of the school and define the instructional strategies and methods that should be used to deliver the curriculum.[193] Teachers are given – in theory – some participation in deciding the contents of lessons. Consequently, according to the Federal Council, one of the objectives of teacher education should be "the construction and strengthening of the decision-making capacity of teachers".[194]

In this context, the new meaning given to curricular control in Argentine official

discourse includes the teacher as a fundamental agent in the definition of curriculum contents. The distant relation between teachers and curriculum contents was abandoned. The CBC for teacher training stresses that future teachers should acquire:

> an interpretative frame and tools that allow them to *participate* in those processes [curricular design], to *analyse and improve* curricular documents, using them to define and adjust *their own* teaching proposals...[195]

Therefore, it is now teachers themselves who define the contents, based on the guidelines set by the state. Furthermore, teachers should no longer follow these guidelines obediently, rather they should "analyse them critically", "reflecting upon them", "suggesting improvements"[196], and only selecting the parts of the curricular document which are useful to their needs and to the specific context in which they are working[197].

In addition, the fact that the curricular guidelines given to teachers are defined in terms of 'competencies' that students have to acquire, rather than as a list of encyclopaedic academic contents, also implies a significant shift in the meaning that is given to the concept of curricular control in Argentine official discourse. Furthermore, not only the knowledge that should be transmitted to students has been defined in terms of 'competencies', but this concept has also been included in the curriculum for teacher education, specifying the knowledge that teachers should acquire for their professional role in terms of 'competencies'.

Thus, there is a shift in the meaning that is given to the concept of curricular control in official discourse in Argentina. Teachers are no longer expected to follow in every single detail the curricular document that they receive. Rather, they are expected

to use this document as a guide, analysing it critically and suggesting improvements. Teachers have become – in theory – fundamental agents in the definition of curriculum contents. In addition, emphasis is placed on competencies that students have to acquire, rather than on encyclopaedic information that teachers have to transmit. This shift in the meaning given to curricular control – adopting the meaning included in global educational discourse – represents a significant rupture with the meaning that has been given to this concept in Argentine official discourse throughout the history of teacher education in this country.

Official discourse in teacher education in Argentina has been strongly influenced by the proposals of international agencies. However, some encyclopaedic and prescriptive traditions have survived the reform. Every single teacher, regardless of the level or discipline at which they will teach, has to cover certain "thematic blocks…: Language, Mathematics, Social Sciences, Natural Sciences, and Technologies"[198]. The Federal Council established the minimum amount of time that future teachers should spend in "face to face academic activities, both theoretical and practical".[199] This suggests that the tradition of prescribing and controlling the use of time from the central agencies of the state is still strong in Argentina. Finally, promoting national identity is still considered one of the main objectives of Argentine education[200]. However, this is mitigated by the acceptance of the notion of plural identities that has been incorporated in Argentine official discourse.[201]

Meanwhile, in Brazilian official rhetoric the meaning given to the concept of curricular control has also changed after the overall curricular reforms implemented in

the 1990s. As has been said, the PCN for basic and secondary education were designed to 'assist' teachers in their work. The documents stress that the "parameters" that they establish are not prescriptive. They are meant as a suggestion that needs to be interpreted.[202] They do not restrict the knowledge that needs to be learnt, they define the minimum abilities that a student must have to continue his or her studies and participate in social life.[203] Teachers are given a lot of space to decide on the actual contents of their lessons.

Furthermore, the DCN for teacher education state that teachers should understand that contents are only instruments that support the acquisition of competencies.[204] Following the new curricular policy that gives them some freedom to decide the actual contents of lessons, teachers should be taught in their initial training how to "elaborate and execute projects that develop curricular contents"[205].

Thus, shifts in the meaning given to curricular control in Brazilian official documents have also followed the principles included in the proposals of international agencies. Teachers should become fundamental agents in deciding the contents that will be transmitted in the classroom. In this selection process, the characteristics of students and context should be considered, always respecting the guidelines set by the central agencies of the educational system.

Conclusion

Educational reform processes in the 1990s were very similar in Argentina and in

Brazil. In both cases a complete reform of the educational system was sought. These reforms took the 'crisis' of the Argentine and Brazilian educational systems as a starting point and then moved on to suggest a series of changes that should take place to adapt these systems to the twenty-first century. In this way, these reforms were presented as being inevitable, since they originated in the need to modernise educational systems that had been created to respond to the challenges of a bygone world.

The educational reforms implemented in Argentina and Brazil were based on the 'universal model of education' promoted by international agencies, emphasising principles of decentralisation, school autonomy, a new curricular policy based on the transmission of competencies, a central system of evaluation of educational results, and the professionalisation of teachers.

Even though before the reforms of the 1990s Argentina and Brazil were in very different positions in relation to (for example) decentralisation policies, similar principles were followed in each country. In Brazil, where education was in the responsibility of each of the states, there was 'decentralisation' of this responsibility to the municipalities. Meanwhile in Argentina's highly centralised system, the responsibility for managing education was 'decentralised' from the national state to the provinces. Therefore, the message received from international agencies was that decentralisation was an inherently good policy that could improve the operation of an educational system independently of the stage of 'centralisation' at which an educational system started.

Similarly, the locus of curricular definition before the reforms was very different in Brazil and Argentina. While in Brazil curricular regulations were decided at the state level, in Argentina the definition of curricula was made by the National Ministry of Education. However, both countries ended up with similar curricular policies after the reforms implemented in the 1990s: the national state defines common basic contents that must be respected by the provinces (or states) when defining the curricula, which should also leave some space for schools and teachers to decide the specific contents of lessons according to their context.

These examples show that, often, the proposals of international agencies do not have much consideration for the specificities of the contexts in which their models should be applied. The problem with adopting such abstract models is that a reform could be aimed at solving problems that are not necessarily the most urgent problems in those contexts. Furthermore, the reform could change some patterns of the system that were efficient.

The analysis of reforms of teacher education in Argentina and Brazil showed that curricular policies for teacher education in these countries also followed the recommendations of international agencies. The meanings of concepts of pedagogic identity, pedagogic knowledge, and curricular control offered in global educational discourse were adopted at the level of official rhetoric. Global educational discourse displaced available discourses in the state in both countries. Furthermore the process through which global educational discourse was translated into policies did not include a major transformation of this discourse, and no major differences were perceived

between the translations made in the Argentine and in the Brazilian states.

However, the literature suggests that the significant changes that can be seen at the level of official rhetoric did not necessarily translate into practice. Rather, there were serious problems in the translation of the proposals of international agencies into practice.

Thus, the effects of localising of global educational discourse in practice in Argentina and in Brazil cannot be simply understood by analysing official rhetoric. The question is not only whether the 'anticipated' effects are attained. The unexpected effects that global educational discourse can produce as it is localised in a specific educational system should also be considered. In order to explore the possible gap between curricular regulation and practice in teacher education in Argentina and Brazil, the next chapter will analyse how the agents who should put the new curricular policy into practice – those who teach in teacher training institutions – make sense of the changes proposed by the Brazilian and Argentine policies.

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[124] Ibid., p. 5
[125] Ibid.
[126] Ibid., p. 12
[127] Ibid.
[128] Ibid
[129] Ministerio de Educación, *Criterios Para La Planificación De Diseños Curriculares Compatibles [Criteria for Compatible Curricular Design]* .
[130] Ibid.
[131] Ibid.
[132] For example, in the description of what is expected from students, the CBC for Social Sciences in Polimodal education say that students should be able to: "Understand the economic dynamic and apply some basic economic concepts to the analysis of processes and specific cases... [and] Read and interpret maps, photographic and satellite images and organise social information through diverse proceedings including information technologies." Ministerio de Educación, Argentina. 1996. "*Contenidos Básicos Comunes para la Educacion Polimodal. Ciencias Sociales [General Basic Contents for Polimodal Education. Social Sciences]*". Cited March 2002. Available from gopher://gopher.mcye.gov.ar:70/00/cbc/polimodal/1996/cbccssoc.
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[139] Ministerio de Educación, Argentina, *Red Federal De Formación Docente Continua [Federal Net of Continuous Teacher Training]* (2001); Cited September 2002. Available from http://www.me.gov.ar/consejo/documentos/dcmto-rffdc.html.
[140] Argentina, *Ley Federal De Educación [Federal Law of Education], No. 24,195*, Art. 47.
[141] Ministerio de Educación y Cultura de la Nación, *Alternativas Para La Formación El Perfeccionamiento Y La Capacitación Docente [Alternatives for Initial and in-Service Training of Teachers].*
[142] Argentina, *Ley Federal De Educación [Federal Law of Education], No. 24,195*, Art. 47.

[143] Ministerio de Educación y Cultura de la Nación, *Red Federal De Formación Docente Continua [Federal Net of Continuous Teacher Training]*.
[144] Argentina, *Ley De Educación Superior [Higher Education Law] No. 24,521*, Art, 17.
[145] Ministerio de Educación, *Contenidos Básicos Comunes Para La Formación Docente [Common Basic Contents for Teacher Training]*.
[146] Ibid.
[147] Argentina, Ministerio de Educación, *Transformación Gradual Y Progresiva De La Formación Docente Continua [Gradual and Progressive Transformation of Continuous Teacher Training]* (1997).
[148] Ministerio de Educación, *Contenidos Básicos Comunes Para La Formación Docente [Common Basic Contents for Teacher Training]*.
[149] Ibid.
[150] Ministerio de Educación, *Transformación Gradual Y Progresiva De La Formación Docente Continua [Gradual and Progressive Transformation of Continuous Teacher Training]*.
[151] Ministerio de Educación, *Contenidos Básicos Comunes Para La Formación Docente [Common Basic Contents for Teacher Training]*.
[152] Ibid.
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[154] Brazil, Ministerio da Educação, *Diretrizes Curriculares Nacionais Para a Formação De Professores Da Educação Básica [National Curricular Guidelines for Basic Education Teacher]* (Brasilia: Ministerio da Educação, 2001), p. 4.
[155] Ibid., p. 29.
[156] Ibid., p. 18.
[157] Ibid.
[158] Ibid.
[159] Ibid.
[160] Ibid., p. 9.
[161] Ibid., pp. 10-11.
[162] Ibid., p. 5.
[163] Ibid., p. 18.
[164] Brazil, *Lei De Diretrizes E Bases Da Educação [Law of Guidelines and Foundations of Education]*, Art. 13
[165] Ibid.
[166] Ministerio da Educação, *Diretrizes Curriculares Nacionais Para a Formação De Professores Da Educação Básica [National Curricular Guidelines for Basic Education Teacher]*, p. 18.
[167] Ibid., p. 21.
[168] Ibid., p. 41 and p. 62.
[169] Brazil, *Lei De Diretrizes E Bases Da Educação [Law of Guidelines and Foundations of Education]*.
[170] Ibid
[171] Ministerio da Educação, *Diretrizes Curriculares Nacionais Para a Formação De Professores Da Educação Básica [National Curricular Guidelines for Basic Education Teacher]*, p. 28.
[172] Ibid., p. 51.
[173] Ibid., p. 60.
[174] Ibid., p. 61.
[175] Ministerio de Educación y Cultura de la Nación, *Alternativas Para La Formación El Perfeccionamiento Y La Capacitación Docente [Alternatives for Initial and in-Service Training of Teachers]*.
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[177] Ibid.
[178] Ibid.
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[180] Ibid.
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[183] Brazil, Ministerio da Educação, *Parametros Curriculares Nacionais (1a a 4a Serie) [National Curricular Guidelines. (1st to 4th Year)]*; Cited August 2002. Available from http://www.mec.gov.br/sef/sef/pcn1a4.shtm; Ministerio da Educação, *Parametros Curriculares Nacionais (Ensino Medio) Parte 1 - Bases Legais [National Curricular Guidelines. (Secondary Education). Part 1 - Legal Base]*.
[184] Ibid.
[185] Ibid.
[186] Ministerio da Educação, *Diretrizes Curriculares Nacionais Para a Formação De Professores Da Educação Básica [National Curricular Guidelines for Basic Education Teacher]*, p. 42.
[187] Ibid., p. 41.
[188] Ibid., p. 34.
[189] Ibid.
[190] Ibid.
[191] Ibid., p. 30 and p. 60.
[192] Ibid., p. 31.
[193] Llach, *Educación Para Todos [Education for All]*, p. 202.
[194] Ministerio de Educación y Cultura de la Nación, *Alternativas Para La Formación El Perfeccionamiento Y La Capacitacion Docente [Alternatives for Initial and in-Service Training of Teachers]*.
[195] Ministerio de Educación, *Contenidos Básicos Comunes Para La Formación Docente [Common Basic Contents for Teacher Training]*.
[196] Ibid.
[197] Ibid.
[198] Ibid.
[199] Argentina, Ministerio de Educación, *Bases Para La Organización De La Formación Docente [Bases for the Organisation of Teacher Training]* (1996).
[200] Argentina, *Ley Federal De Educación [Federal Law of Education], No. 24,195*, Art 5.
[201] Ibid.; Ministerio de Educación, *Contenidos Básicos Comunes Para La Formación Docente [Common Basic Contents for Teacher Training]*.
[202] Ministerio da Educação, *Parametros Curriculares Nacionais (1a a 4a Serie) [National Curricular Guidelines (1st to 4th Year)]*; Ministerio da Educação, *Parametros Curriculares Nacionais (Ensino Medio) Parte 2 - Linguagens, Códigos E Suas Tecnologías [National Curricular Guidelines. (Secondary Education). Part 2 - Languages, Codes and Their Tecnologies]*.
[203] Ministerio da Educação, *Parametros Curriculares Nacionais (Ensino Medio) Parte 2 - Linguagens, Códigos E Suas Tecnologías [National Curricular Guidelines. (Secondary Education). Part 2 - Languages, Codes and Their Tecnologies]*.
[204] Ibid., p. 60.
[205] Ibid., p. 59.

Chapter 6

Localising global educational discourse in practice: The perspective of teacher educators in Argentina and in Brazil

Chapter Five has traced the considerable influence of international agencies at the level of official rhetoric on the educational reforms that were implemented in Argentina and in Brazil during the 1990s, and specifically on the knowledge that is promoted by the state for teacher trainees in these countries.

However, even though official documents promote certain knowledge for teacher trainees in Argentine and Brazilian, this does not necessarily imply that this knowledge is being transmitted in teacher training institutions. A gap could exist between the formulation of policy and practice. Thus, to understand the effects of global educational discourse in practice in Argentina and Brazil it is necessary to explore the movement of this discourse from policies to practice.

This thesis has suggested that in order to understand the theme of 'foreign influences' in education, the field of comparative education needs to develop a theory that can map the circulation of discourse in the global educational field. Furthermore, it has been said that such a theory should be based on a concept of space that moves beyond the state, taking into account supranational actors in the educational field, such as international agencies and regional blocks. However, the development of such a theory should also consider actors in the educational field that are 'within' the state, such as educational institutions and education practitioners.

To explore the movement of global educational discourse into teacher education institutions, this chapter will present an analysis of a series of interviews that were conducted with teacher educators in Brazil and Argentina. Teacher educators are the agents who should put curricular guidelines into practice. Thus, the aim of the field work was to understand how teacher educators interpreted the ideas that were promoted by international agencies and included in the curricular guidelines.

The argument of this chapter is that the knowledge promoted through official documents such as the *Contenidos Basicos Comunes* (CBC) and the *Diretrizes Curriculares Nacionais* (DCN), giving specific meanings to concepts of pedagogic identity, pedagogic knowledge and curricular control, is mediated by agents such as those who teach in teacher training institutions.

The chapter is divided into five sections. The first section will revisit the initial argument of this chapter by developing a theoretical approach to analyse the data collected in the interviews. This theoretical approach is based on the work of Ball and Bernstein. The second section will explain the field work process by describing the way in which the empirical setting was approached and the data collected. The third and fourth sections present the analysis of the interviews that were conducted in Brazil and in Argentina. Finally, the last section is the conclusion, where the Brazilian and the Argentine case will be compared.

Revisiting the argument: policy as discourse, policy as text, and recontextualization

The first argument of this chapter is that teacher educators act as mediators between the curricular policies of the state for teacher education and future teachers, promoting, blocking or filtering some of the global influences that are contained in the national curriculum.

What needs to be explored to test this argument, is the possible gap that is created between the formulation of a given policy (the curriculum for teacher education) and the implementation of this policy in practice. Ball offers a useful theoretical "toolbox" to look into this gap, noting that policy can be seen *both* as text *and* as discourse[1].

Ball's conception of policy as text stresses agency and interpretation, noting that for any text "a plurality of readers must necessarily produce a plurality of readings"[2]. As policies move from formulation into practice, gaps and spaces for action and response are opened up. Policies are not transmitted into a vacuum, there are social, institutional, and personal circumstances that will affect the way in which policies are understood by those who (are supposed to) put them into practice.[3]

When practitioners are faced with a given physical text (i.e.: a curricular document), they are confronted with a number of problems that are involved in the "translation of the crude, abstract simplicities of policy texts into interactive and sustainable practices"[4]. These problems must be addressed in context[5]. Thus, the ways in

which these problems are approached are localised: according to the context, different solutions will be offered to the problem of implementing in practice a given policy[6]. Furthermore, Ball notes that:

> the more ideologically abstract any policy is, the more distant in conception from practice..., the less likely it is to be accommodated in unmediated form into the context of practice; it confronts 'other realities', other circumstances, like poverty, disrupted classrooms, lack of materials, multi-lingual classes. Some policies change some of the circumstances in which we work, they cannot change all the circumstances[7].

In the case of Argentine and Brazilian curricular policies for teacher education, it has been shown in the previous chapter that some of the ideas contained in these policies were appropriated from the universal model of education promoted by international agencies – a context of conception that is quite distant from practice. This suggests that the 'other realities' – the specific contextual circumstances that affect the way in which policies are interpreted and put into practice – were not considered as the proposals of international agencies were formulated. Consequently, the practical effects of the appropriation of the proposals of international agencies in Argentine and Brazilian curricular policy for teacher education cannot be simply read-off from curricular documents. Rather, these effects "are the outcome of conflict and struggle between 'interests' in context."[8]

Thus, taking up Ball's conception of policies as texts could suggest that even though curricular policies in Argentina and Brazil adopted a series of ideas promoted by international agencies, these ideas did not necessarily permeate into teacher education practices. Furthermore, from this point of view, it would be possible to suggest that the movement of certain ideas from international agencies into Argentine and Brazilian

curricular policy had different practical effects in different contexts within these countries. In other words, in an analysis that stresses agency and interpretation, it would be expected that different practitioners would interpret the ideas promoted by international agencies in different ways.

However, such an analysis might be "caught within an ideology of agency: by dealing with what is or can be done it misses the big picture"[9]. Conflict, struggle and interpretation take place over a pre-established terrain. It is at this point that Ball introduces the notion of policy as discourse[10].

Discourses are a system of possibility for knowledge: by creating the possibility for certain meanings and interpretations of the world, they constrain the possibilities for other meanings and interpretations to arise.[11] In this sense discourses disrupt or maintain power relations by defining certain "discursive limitations"[12], demarcating the pre-established terrain within which interpretations can take place. Practitioners may only think of possibilities of response and interpretation within the "language, concepts and vocabulary which the discourse makes available" to them.[13]

Ball notes that the essence of this dual conceptualisation of policies both as text and as discourse is that:

> there are real struggles over the interpretation and enactment of policies. But these are set within a moving discursive frame which articulates and constrains the possibilities and probabilities of interpretation and enactment. We read and respond to policies in discursive circumstances that we cannot, or perhaps do not, think about.[14]

Therefore, the first argument of this chapter is that as global educational discourse moved from its context of conception to the context of practices in Argentina and Brazil it was transformed through the mediation of teacher educators.

Since interpretations of global educational discourse will depend on the specific contextual circumstances in which practitioners work, the second argument of this chapter is that a comparison between the interpretation that teacher educators make of global educational discourse in Argentina and in Brazil should reveal some particularities in the way that this discourse has been localised in practice in each of these contexts of reception.

However, it will also be argued that these interpretations take place within certain discursive limitations. Furthermore, it has been argued in this thesis that international agencies have participated, by producing global educational discourse, in the delimitation of a 'discursive frame' in teacher education in these countries.

Thus, Ball's conception of policies both as text and as discourse provides a useful analytic resource to understand how the proposals of international agencies could have defined certain discursive limitations in the Argentine and Brazilian educational systems, but at the same time, within these limitations, there could have been different interpretations and enactments of these proposals.

In the next sub-section, Bernstein's concept of 'recontextualization' will be reviewed to try to make further sense of why and how different interpretations of

curricular policies could happen.

Revisiting recontextualization

In his text on *The social construction of pedagogic discourse* Bernstein aims at presenting a series of "ordering principles intrinsic to the production, reproduction, and change of pedagogic discourse"[15]. Although his whole model will not be taken up, what is especially useful for this thesis is his analysis of how different positions within an educational system can affect how a subject interprets and acts upon a given discourse; in other words, how the different positioning of subjects will affect the process of recontextualization.

Following Bernstein, the concept of recontextualization has been defined in this thesis as the transformations that take place as a discourse moves from one context to another. It is the moving between contexts, and thus the characteristics of the contexts that define these transformations.

Bernstein distinguishes between positioning of "pedagogic subjects" with respect to a given discourse (*relations to* a discourse), and positioning *within* a discourse[16]. The positioning of a subject with respect to a discourse is essentially a matter of class, race, gender, and age.[17] Some subjects are positioned in a way such that they can appropriate the discourse with relative ease, while others will have more difficulties appropriating the discourse. However, these relations to the discourse tell us little about how the discourse has been constituted.

'*Relations within*', instead, refer to the rules whereby a discourse has been internally constructed. '*Relations within'* tell us about the relationship within the discourse, that is, the rules whereby the discourse has been constituted, the rules of its construction, circulation, contextualization, acquisition and change.[18]

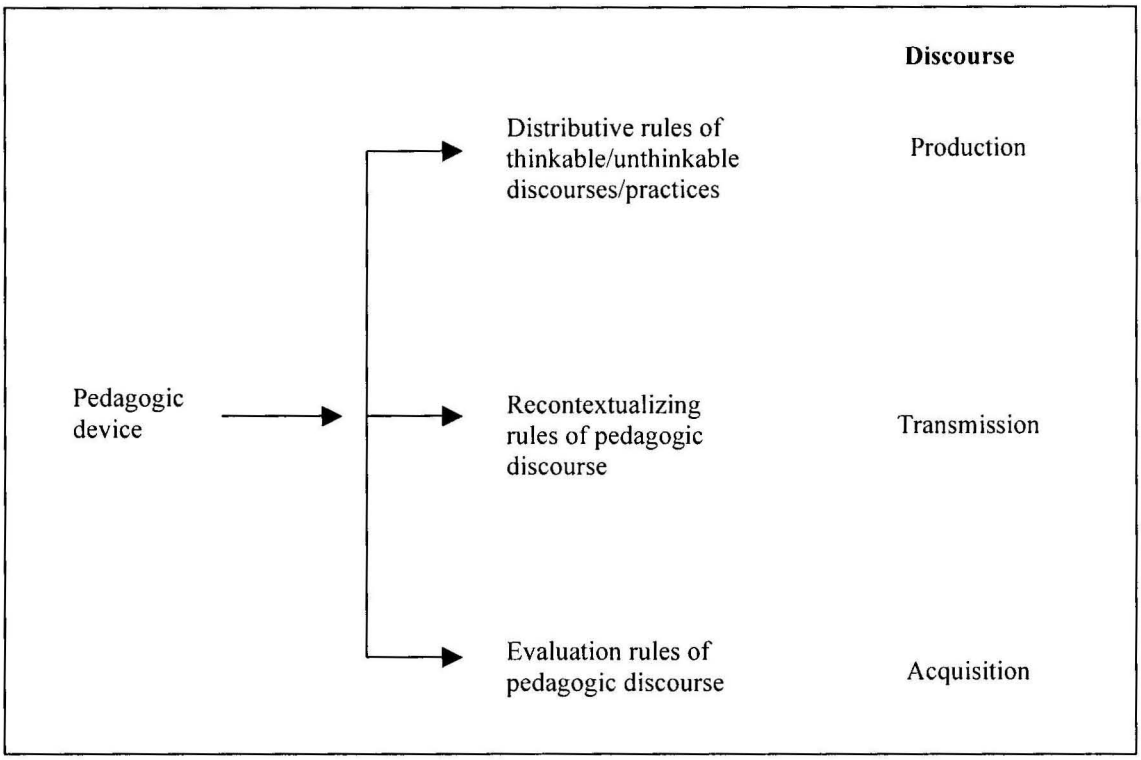
Bernstein notes that on the whole, the sociology of education has taken for granted the analysis of '*relations within*'[19]:

> studies are concerned only with the analysis of the 'message' of pedagogy (class, gender, race, region, nation, religion), not with its 'voice'. In such studies the 'voice' of pedagogy is a 'voice' that is never heard, only its realizations; that is, its messages. The 'voice' is constituted by the pedagogic device.[20]

Thus, through an analysis of what he calls the pedagogic device (Figure 1), Bernstein provides a theory to analyse the position of different subjects within a discourse, and how this position could affect the way in which different subjects interpret and act upon pedagogic discourse.

Bernstein distinguishes between primary, recontextualizing, and secondary contexts. The primary context is the site in which 'new' ideas are selectively created, modified, and changed and where specialised discourses are developed, modified, or changed. This context is created by the "positions, relations, and practices arising out of the *production* rather than the reproduction of educational discourse and its practices."[21] Thus, in this thesis, the primary context is represented by international agencies who are engaged mainly with the production of global educational discourse.

Figure 1: the pedagogic device



From Basil Bernstein, *The Structuring of Pedagogic Discourse* (London: Routledge, 1990), p. 190.

The secondary context, with its various levels (tertiary, secondary, primary, pre-school), agencies, positions, and practices, "refers to the selective reproduction of educational discourse"[22]. In this thesis, the secondary context is represented by the site of communication between teacher educators and trainees. This context will not be considered in this thesis because the communication between teacher educators and trainees will not be explored. At the most, it will be possible to infer some ideas about the secondary context from the analysis of the third context introduced by Bernstein: the recontextualizing context.

The positions, agents, and practices within the recontextualizing context are concerned with the movements of texts/practices from the primary context of discursive

production to the secondary context of discursive reproduction. Bernstein calls the fields structured by this context the recontextualizing fields[23]:

> *Official pedagogic recontextualizing field [ORF]*
> 1 This will include specialized departments and sub-agencies of the State and local educational authorities together with their research and systems of inspectors.
>
> *Pedagogic recontextualizing field [PDF]...*
> 1 This will include university and polytechnic departments of education, colleges of education together with their research, and private foundations...[24]

Adapting Bernstein's model to the analysis offered in this thesis, it can be said that the primary context is represented by UNESCO, the World Bank, and OECD. This is the context in which global educational discourse is produced.

The recontextualizing context is divided into two fields. The ORF is represented by the agencies of the Argentine and Brazilian states. The results of the recontextualization of global educational discourse in the ORF were analysed in Chapter Five, showing a strong communication between the primary context and the Argentine and Brazilian ORFs, and therefore, a weak transformation of global educational discourse at this level. Meanwhile, the PRF, that will be analysed in this chapter, is represented in this thesis by teacher educators in Argentina and Brazil.

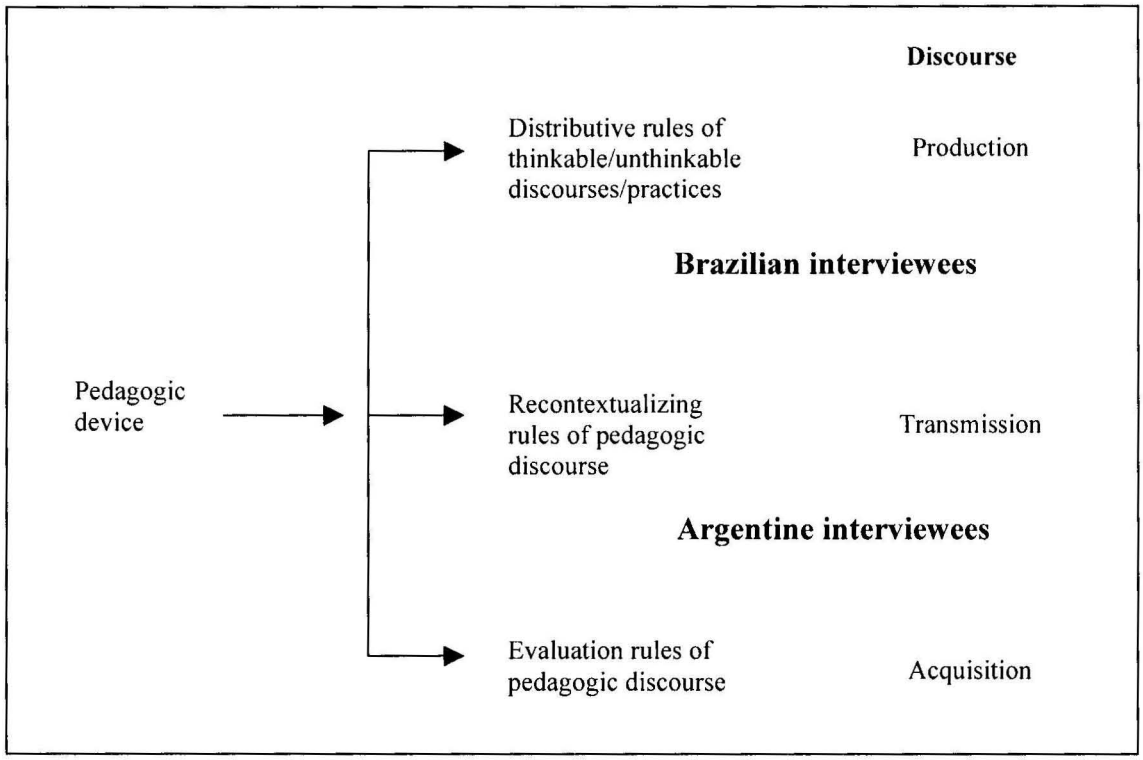
However, there is a significant difference in the position of teacher educators that were selected for the field work in Argentina and in Brazil: while in Brazil interviewees were selected from universities, in Argentina teacher educators were selected from non-university teacher training institutions. The justification for such a difference is related to the nature of institutional patterns in teacher education in these two countries. In

Brazil the *Lei de Diretrizes e Bases da Educação* (LDB) authorises only two types of institutions to offer teacher education: universities and *institutos superiores de educação* (non-university institutions of higher education specialised in education)[25]. The *institutos superiores* did not exist in Brazil prior to the reform[26]. Thus, universities are the best established teacher education institutions. On the contrary, in Argentina, the number of teachers trained in universities is insignificant (1.3% in primary and 0.6 % in secondary education)[27]. Consequently, it was decided not to consider universities for the Argentine case.

Interestingly, this difference between Argentine and Brazilian interviewees gives the thesis an extra advantage. By comparing the interpretations that university lecturers make of global educational discourse with the interpretations of tertiary teacher educators, it will be possible to explore how different positions within the pedagogic device could influence the resources and possibilities that these different agents have to interpret and enact global educational discourse.

The particularity of teacher educators that work in the university is that they not only occupy a position in the PRF, but they also participate in the production of pedagogic discourse and, therefore, they also occupy a position in the overall primary context. Meanwhile, teacher educators in Argentina who work in non-university teacher education institutions are much closer to the secondary context, the context in which pedagogic discourse is reproduced, than to the primary context. The different positions of Argentine and Brazilian interviewees have been illustrated in Figure 2.

Figure 2: positions of interviewees within the pedagogic device



Adapted from Basil Bernstein, *The Structuring of Pedagogic Discourse* (London: Routledge, 1990), p. 190.

Thus, both Argentine and Brazilian interviewees participate in the PRF and in the secondary context, through the selective reproduction of pedagogic discourse when they teach trainees. However, Brazilian interviewees who are university lecturers are also engaged in educational research, and therefore the production of pedagogic discourse is one of their main activities. Consequently, university lecturers are in a different position to engage with and recontextualize global educational discourse when compared with tertiary teacher trainers who only participate in the recontextualization and reproduction of pedagogic discourse. In addition, another significant difference between universities and tertiary teacher training institutions is their degree of relative autonomy from the ORF. Even though universities are funded by the state, as a result of their legal autonomy, universities are agents of the PRF which "may have a relatively larger

measure of control over their own recontextualizing"[28].

Having discussed the theoretical apparatus that will be used to analyse the data collected through the interviews, the arguments of this chapter can be restated using the language that has been introduced.

The first argument of this chapter is that by producing global educational discourse international agencies have participated in the delimitation of a 'discursive frame' in teacher education in Argentina and in Brazil.

The second argument is that within this 'discursive frame', teacher educators make different interpretations of the ideas promoted through global educational discourse. Since the interpretations of these ideas will depend on the specific contextual circumstances in which teacher educators work, there should be some particularities in the way that teacher educators in Argentina and in Brazil interpret these ideas.

The third argument is that the different positions within the pedagogic device of Argentine and Brazilian interviewees, should result in these agents of recontextualization having different resources and possibilities to engage with and interpret global educational discourse.

As has been said, these arguments will be explored through an analysis of a series of interviews that were conducted with teacher educators in Brazil and Argentina. The next section will introduce a description of the way in which the empirical setting

was approached and the data collected.

The process of data collection

The objective of the field work was to try to grasp how teacher educators, who put into practice the curricular guidelines of the state, make sense of the ideas contained in these directives, and what are their overall attitudes towards the principles that were promoted by international agencies and included in these curricular guidelines.

The decision to use interviews as the method for collecting the data was made because the idea was to explore how meaning is constructed from the point of view of teacher educators, and how curricular policies are recontextualized in and through the views of teacher educators. As Kvale notes, "interviews are particularly suited for studying people's understanding of the meanings in their lived world, describing their experiences and self-understanding, and clarifying and elaborating their own perspective on their lived world."[29]. After all, an interview is "literally an *inter view*, an inter-change of views between two persons conversing about a theme of mutual interest"[30]. Thus, interviews were considered to be the most appropriate method to access the views and experiences of teacher educators in Argentina and in Brazil.

In both countries interviewees were selected on the basis of two principles. In the first place, participants had to have at least ten years of experience in teacher education so that they could relate their current practices to their experience before the reform[31]. Secondly, interviewees had to teach pedagogic subjects (not related to disciplinary

knowledge, but rather to different aspects of teaching).

In Brazil, interviews were conducted with six people who teach in the pedagogical part in *Licenciaturas* (initial training programmes for secondary school teachers) in three different federal universities in Brazil. The institutions were located in three big cities of Brazil, and within this they were selected for practical reasons (mainly the possibility of having an inside contact that could provide access to potential interviewees). Two academics were selected in each institution. In all three institutions opportunity arose to interview people who were participating of the commissions that were working on the adaptation of teacher training programmes to the new curricular guidelines. In each institution the initial contact was a senior academic who had been contacted from London and who introduced me to the interviewees. Thus, I was seen as a colleague from abroad and this contributed to a friendly atmosphere during the interview in which lecturers seemed to be quite at ease discussing their own experiences and perspectives with a colleague from a neighbour country.

In Argentina, interviewees were selected from institutions located in the City of Buenos Aires and in the Province of Buenos Aires. Since the Common Basic Contents (CBC) designed at the national level for teacher education were – in theory – a guideline for each of the districts to design their own curricula for teacher education adapting it to its own 'reality', some particularities could be expected in how the proposals of international agencies were interpreted in different districts. Thus, it was decided to select lecturers who worked in two different districts to explore these particularities.

The City of Buenos Aires and the Province of Buenos Aires were selected for two main reasons. In the first place these two districts are quantitatively a significant part of teacher education in Argentina, accounting for 43.5% of all teachers in the Argentine educational system[32], and for 48% of students in non-university higher education[33]. In addition, 36% of teacher training institutions are located in one of these districts[34]. The second reason for selecting these districts is that they are next to each other. Consequently, it was possible to identify some interviewees who work in institutions on both sides, allowing for a comparison that could provide some indications of how the same influences can have different effects in different contexts (even within a same country)[35]. Participants were selected through colleagues who work in initial teacher education and introduced me to the interviewees.

Strategically, the whole scope of this thesis was not mentioned to interviewees, because it was thought that bringing the theme of international agencies into the fore could result in participants taking an ideological stance against these agencies and this could bias the answers about their positions towards certain specific principles that were being discussed. Consequently, this study was presented as being a comparison between curricular reforms in teacher education in Argentina and Brazil. Nevertheless, as will be further discussed in the next sections, most interviewees in Brazil brought the theme of international agencies themselves into the conversations, while Argentine participants did not.

Promise was made that anonymity of both individuals and institutions would be kept. The idea was to encourage a sincere approach of the respondents to the interview.

When presenting accounts of the interviews, institutions in Brazil will be referred to as A, B, and C. Fictional names will be used for each interviewee starting with the letter that represents their institutions: Ana and Antonio from institution A; Bebel and Barbara from institution B; and Clelia and Camila from institution C. In Argentina[36], Diana, Gabriela and Graciela worked in teacher training institutions in the City of Buenos Aires. Dolores worked both in institutions in the City and in the Province. Finally, Lorena and Laura worked in several institutions in the Province.

It was decided to use a semi-structured interview, closely resembling a conversation with a set of broad guidelines because, as mentioned before, the prime concern of the interviewer was to "explore the world from the perspective of the interviewee and to construct an understanding of how the interviewee makes sense of their experiences."[37] Thus, interviews were conducted according to an interview guide, focusing on certain themes that provided a frame for the conversation, but with a minimum restraint on the answers.

Overall, interviewees were asked about their experience in teacher education, whether they had read the new curricular guidelines for teacher education, and about their general opinion on these documents. Then, participants were asked about how their institution had adapted to these new guidelines and how they had changed their own teaching (contents, methods, bibliography). Finally, the interviewer presented a number of extracts from the curricular guidelines for teacher education that expressed different principles that were also contained in the proposals of international agencies. Interviewees were asked to comment on the importance of these principles, if these

principles implied a significant rupture with previous curricula for teacher education in Argentine or Brazilian education, and if they were at all considered in their own practice. A detailed account of the interview guides that were used to structure the conversations is offered in the methodological annexe. However, it should be emphasised once again that the interview was presented as a conversation and that this structure was only used as a guideline to orient the conversation into specific themes. The way in which these questions were incorporated into each of the interviews varied. Finally, it should be noted that interviews were tape-recorded, except for one in which permission from the respondent was not granted (Camila).

The interviews were analysed in three steps. In the first place all of the interviews with Brazilian teacher educators were examined. Then, interviews in Argentina were analysed and, finally, both analyses were compared. Both sets of interviews were analysed by searching for continuities and discontinuities in the ways in which interviewees interpreted the curricular guidelines of the state. Some of the main themes had been identified when constructing interviewee guides: the opinion of interviewees about the curricular guidelines, and the extent to which institutions and individuals had adapted to this new curriculum. Meanwhile, other themes became important as they were raised by all or most of the interviewees. Furthermore, as will be shown in the analysis presented in the next section, when comparing the analysis of Argentine and Brazilian interviews some interesting continuities and discontinuities became apparent.

Before moving into the analysis of the interviews themselves it is necessary to reflect on the status of the data that was collected in these interviews. In this respect, it is

important to emphasise that the status of the conclusions that will be drawn from the analysis of the interviews is not the same as the status of the claims that have been made in previous chapters.

The analysis of documents and proposals of UNESCO, the World Bank and OECD that was offered in Chapter Three included an exhaustive search for all written texts on the theme of educational reform and teacher education that were published by these organisations between 1985 and 1996. Of course it is possible that some texts could have been missed unintentionally and others were not used in the analysis because they were not centrally engaged with the theme of education. Nevertheless, the quantity and quality of the data that was collected allow for a claim of generalisation of the analysis, and of the conclusions that were drawn about the general system of thought that makes the educational vision of these organisations possible. Similarly, the number of documents used in the analysis of the Argentine and Brazilian reforms leaves little doubt in terms of the extent to which this data represents the official educational vision at the National State level in these countries in the specified time period.

However, in the case of the interviews that are being analysed in this chapter, the sample is too small to establish any great claims of generalisation: out of the whole universe of teacher trainers in Argentina and Brazil, only six of these agents have been selected in each country. Thus, it is quite clear that the sample is not representative.

Nevertheless, and having made the above clarification, it is suggested in this chapter that the conclusions that can be drawn from the analysis of the following data

are still useful as an indication of some patterns on how the general system of thought that was identified in the proposals of international agencies and that was appropriated by the Argentine and Brazilian states moved into the discourses of teacher educators.

Consequently, no firm generalisations are made in the sense that all (or most) teacher educators in Argentina and Brazil interpret the curricular guidelines of the state in a similar way to the lecturers who were included in the sample. Nevertheless, the analysis presented in this chapter can illuminate the extent to which (and processes by which) lecturers act as agents of mediation between the messages of the state and teacher trainees who receive (or not) these messages in practice.

In the next sections, the analysis of the interviews will be presented, searching for some continuities in the way that interviewees interpreted curricular guidelines and in the way that participants (say that they) put these curricular guidelines into practice.

Re-interpreting global educational discourse in practice in Brazil

The first continuity that can be found in the interviewees' responses in Brazil is related to the adaptation of institutions and of their own practices to new curricular guidelines. When asked how much the new *Diretrizes Curriculares Nacionais* (DCN) for teacher education had changed actual practices in the education offered to teacher trainees all six participants answered that nothing (or at least very little) had changed both at the institutional level and in their own courses.

At the institutional level, all three universities had established commissions to work on the adaptation of institutional curricula to the new regulations. However, participants noted that very little had changed in practice. One of the explanations that were given for this lack of adaptation to the DCN was the autonomy of universities. For example, Bebel presented a document that had been produced by the commission in which she participated by saying:

> *This document was made on the basis of the new DCN, it includes both that with which we agree, and that with which we do not agree. It is not compulsory for us to follow the law. Public universities have autonomy to define their own proposals...*

Furthermore, the document that was given to the interviewer states: "As an autonomous university we should analyse critically the resolutions of the National Council of Education". Meanwhile, in institution A, Ana said:

> *The government's regulations should not be followed, they should be interpreted, and then we should follow that which agrees with our own interests and we should leave behind those parts of the regulation which are against our interests...especially in the name of the autonomy of universities.*

Although she noted that this was her position, that was not necessarily followed by every member of the Department of Education, a document of this department reaffirms this view by stating:

> We consider that the university has autonomy to organise the curricula of its own courses and, above all, to re-interpret the guidelines defined by the National Council of Education. It is on the basis of our own conceptions of teacher education and teachers' work that we implement curricular changes.

Another issue that was mentioned as an explanation for the lack of change at the institutional level was that the new DCN had been subordinated to discussions that had pre-existed within institutions for a long time. In university A, both interviewees noted that there was a dispute between the Department of Education – in charge of the

pedagogic training of teachers – and the institutes where trainees learnt about the specific disciplinary knowledge. Antonio said that this was an historical conflict that in 1994 resulted in the creation of a number of commissions that were supposed to solve this institutional problem. However, he affirmed, "*these commissions did very little in practice...this institution continues to try to solve this problem with or without the new DCN*". Later in the conversation he added:

> *In terms of the DCN for the Licenciaturas nothing has changed in this institution. We are still discussing an internal resolution of 1994 that we still have not been able to implement...*
> *The big discussion that is taking place is not so much related to the DCN, but rather to another resolution of the National Council that regulates a minimum of 800 hours for practical activities [He refers to a resolution that establishes 400 hours of internships and 400 hours of practice-based training as compulsory for Licenciaturas[38]]. Since this is a practical requirement that has to be implemented before 2004 it is being discussed...My 22 years of experience in universities suggests that something will be implemented in order to make as if we were respecting the law...*

This concern with the regulation of time is another continuity that can be traced across the different institutions.

For example in institution C, Clelia spent about half of the conversation referring to this issue. When asked about her general opinion on the DCN she immediately referred to the use of time by saying:

> *I am disappointed with these curricular guidelines because I think that the proposal is a little bit delirious. It is delirious because it establishes that the education of teachers should include 400 hours of something that is called teaching-practice, and another 400 hours of internships...I never knew that there was a difference between teaching-practice and internships in the case of a teacher trainee...In the first place, we have a problem with the administration of this timetable. Only in this city we have, more or less, 20,000 students of Licenciatura...If you place all of these students in schools – from the first to the last semester – during 50 hours each semester, schools would not be able to absorb this. It is absolutely unviable*

for schools to receive such a multitude of people. In the second place, I see a pedagogical problem with these regulations. I cannot see what is the advantage for the students to spend four years of their academic life visiting schools, and on top of these 400 hours you have the 400 hours of internships. What is the justification for this?

Clelia continued criticising the DCN because they do not establish clearly which is the pedagogic knowledge that should be included in the curricula for teacher trainees. Furthermore, she noted that the government has not established how many hours should be dedicated to pedagogic knowledge. Thus, she concluded that the government prioritised practice over theoretical knowledge about the processes of teaching and learning.

The new regulation that extended the time spent in practice-based activities was her main concern. Furthermore, she noted that the Department of Education in University C was divided into two sections, and that there was a conflict between these sections that had been working separately on proposals for the implementation of the new curricular guidelines. She offered a copy of the documents that had been prepared by each of the sections and it was surprising to see that one of the documents consisted exclusively of a gridline that presented a plan for the distribution of time in the *Licenciatura*. It was specifically and exclusively a proposal for the inclusion of the 800 hours of practice-based training in the course. The other document had a similar gridline, but included a paragraph describing the contents of each of the curricular subjects.

Later, Clelia kept on talking about the use of time and she insisted on emphasising the problems that existed to put these regulations into practice:

We do not know how to administer this. One of the ways to do it is to find

> *alternatives, making a non-literal interpretation, trying to divert these students to other practices...to other type of institutions and experiences...If not it would be impossible for schools, they would have to create a department to take care of the students of Licenciaturas.*

Clelia's 'obsession' with the implementation of the 800 hours of practice-based training (a concern that was to a lesser extent also expressed by other interviewees) is an example of the problems faced by teacher educators in translating the abstract simplicities of policies into interactive practices. When international agencies and the Brazilian State note that it is good for trainees to spend a great part of their professional training in practice-based activities, this is expressed as an abstract ideal. As such an ideal, the statement seems quite reasonable. However, as teacher educators are faced with the problem of translating this ideal into practice other contextual realities come into play, and they note that there are not enough schools in the area, and that if trainees spend 800 hours in practice-based training, other kinds of training activities have to be discarded. As a result, practitioners need to be creative and make a 'non-literal' interpretation of the norm to adapt the abstract ideal of the policy to the specific contextual circumstances with which they are faced.

Therefore, at the institutional level, evidence suggests that teacher educators in universities do not feel they have to obediently follow the regulations of the state. Participants – and internal documents – emphasise the autonomy that universities have to interpret curricular and other guidelines according to their own interests and beliefs. In addition, in one of the institutions, interviewees strongly suggested that the new regulations were very much re-interpreted within the culture of the institution. There was an historical dispute between those that defended a pedagogically-centred education for

teachers and those that proposed a disciplinary-centred education. According to Antonio, each of the 'sides' in the dispute used the new DCN (or rather parts of it) to justify their positions. Finally, in all three institutions the greatest concern was for practical matters that are more easily controlled from the state, such as the distribution of time. It is with this kind of regulations that institutions feel they have more pressure to follow the rules. Nevertheless, since it is these practical matters that bring the biggest problems when they have to be adapted to a specific context, it was also suggested that change was at many times superficial, in order to comply with the formal part of the norm.

When asked about how much had changed in their own courses, in terms of contents, methods and bibliography, all participants said that the DCN did not change their practices at all. Barbara, for example, noted that she based her decisions on what and how to teach in her course on her own research and on discussions with her colleagues, but not on the regulations of the state. A similar answer was given by Ana and Camila. Furthermore, Ana also added: "*I risk to say that nobody in this institution has changed his or her teaching on the basis of the DCN*".

However, as the conversation continued, in the case of Ana and Antonio, it became apparent that their practices had been somehow altered by the new regulations of the state, although not necessarily in the direction that is proposed in the new curricular guidelines. Ana, who teaches curriculum and didactics, was very critical of the notion of 'competencies' (an issue that will be discussed later in this chapter):

> *I would say that maybe the only thing that has happened recently on the basis of these curricular changes is that I have included in my course a discussion on the notion of competencies...as this concept started to appear*

> *repeatedly in curricular proposals I started to introduce the discussion on competencies from a critical perspective, questioning the idea of a curriculum based on competencies. That really happened on the basis of the new documents of the state.*

Antonio, who is in charge of practice-based training in schools for future teachers of Portuguese, noted that some changes had taken place in his courses since the new curricular regulations, but this was due to the new Curricular Parameters for secondary education (PCN) and not as a consequence of the DCN for teacher education:

> *The first thing that changed is that I now have to adapt and discuss with my students the new PCN for secondary education...I had to include this because schools had to adapt [to the new PCN]. I believe that the adaptation that they made is very superficial, I would say it is a cosmetic adaptation, almost a simulacrum of what is proposed in the PCN.*

Thus, although the first impression of the participants was that nothing had changed in their practice as a consequence of the new curricular guidelines, as the conversation continued it became clear that these regulations introduced certain themes into the agenda of the courses aimed at educating future teachers. Even though lecturers might introduce these themes from a critical perspective – as Ana did with the notion of competencies – what is important for the analysis offered in this thesis is that certain themes moved form the proposals of international agencies, through Brazilian curricular policies, and into actual practice in teacher education courses. When Ana or Antonio use part of the time of their lessons to discuss the idea of a curriculum based on competencies, they might have a positive or a negative view of this idea. Nevertheless, the movement of global educational discourse into teacher education practices in Brazil created the conditions of possibility for certain issues to be discussed in teacher education lessons. Logically, when some themes are introduced into a lesson, others are displaced.

Therefore, the inclusion of themes such as the notion of competencies into teacher education lessons in Brazil suggests that the incorporation of certain ideas contained in global educational discourse in Brazilian policy collaborated in the transformation of the discursive frame in teacher education practices in Brazil, even if available dominant discourses were not displaced completely.

Nevertheless, when asked about their general opinion about the new DCN all of the participants showed some degree of resistance towards the new curricular guidelines of the state. Overall, interviewees criticised the DCN for being "*neo-liberal*" and following the interests of international organisations, for thinking of education as the training of human resources for the labour market, and for the inclusion of many different theoretical orientations that contradict each other. In addition, some of the participants mentioned that the material conditions that would allow putting these guidelines into practice were not being considered by the government, making it impossible for lecturers to introduce into their lessons the new proposals.

As has been pointed out, the issue of international agencies was not mentioned to the interviewees. However, four of the participants alluded to the influence of international agencies in the latest educational reform in Brazil as a negative aspect of these reforms. Bebel, for example, referred to a general criticism of the reform that was made by the Department of Education of her institution:

> *We think that the reform implemented by the government is aimed at restructuring the educational system in a way that is much more oriented towards the demands of the IMF, demands of the internal market, demands*

> *of a certain economy...It represents a number of administrative interests, much more than an interest in promoting a universal democratic education of high quality. We cannot avoid making that criticism of the general policy of the government.*

Similar comments were made by other lecturers, mentioning the IMF, the World Bank, and the Inter American Development Bank. Antonio suggested that "*the policies that the World Bank and other international agencies are proposing for us, the third world, emerging world or whatever you want to call it, a subordinate role...*" Thus, lecturers were aware of the influence that international agencies had on the Brazilian educational reform, and they saw this as a negative aspect of the new policies. In addition, it was the international financial institutions – and not other agencies such as UNESCO or OECD – that were mentioned as a negative influence.

This negative influence was seen by interviewees as resulting in an education for teachers (and for primary and secondary students) that has as its ultimate aim preparing human resources for the labour market. The new DCN for teacher education in Brazil say that they represent a "new paradigm" for the training of teachers[39]. One of the keys of this 'new paradigm' is that the curriculum is presented as a series of competencies that should be transmitted to teacher trainees[40]. It was mainly when discussing the notion of competencies that interviewees brought up the theme of the aim of education, criticising the new DCN for promoting an education that is oriented exclusively to the labour market. Ana said:

> *From my perspective, a curriculum based on competencies introduces the idea that teachers, and the education that they receive, have to be subjected to the labour market. That is why I am against the idea of competencies...I criticise the relation between the concept of competencies and the curricular tradition of social efficiency which was expressed in the old 'behavioural objectives'...It is not possible to say that the competencies*

> *that appear today are exactly the same thing as the old 'behavioural objectives', but they are very similar...In practice, I know of schools (because the concept of competencies is not exclusive of teacher education, it was also included in the curricular proposals for the middle school) in which they took the old document based on the old 'behavioural objectives', they deleted the word 'behavioural objectives', they replaced it by the word competencies and they handed it in to the Secretary of Education...I am afraid of saying that nothing changes, because the notion of competencies responds to objectives of today, they are not the same objectives as in the 1960s or 1970s. In that sense there is a change, but the logic is the same: that education should be subjected to the interests of the labour market.*

Clelia also interpreted the notion of competencies as an old concept that was being revitalised, but her view was quite different from Ana's:

> *I am not yet convinced that competencies are something new. I think that they are being emphasised now. But competencies, in the sense of things, attributions, actions that need to be known and dominated by professionals, are something that has always existed...In my view, there is a problem with the notion of competencies and this other little word that is very related – abilities. The problem is that we have not yet arrived (and maybe we will never arrive) to a precise definition that makes the distinction between what is a competency and what is an ability...I think that the old objectives of Bloom have been brought back to life, they were given contemporary clothes and associated with the world of work...but I do not think that this concept of competencies changed anything, nor will things change in the future because we are now talking about competencies.*

Thus, the overall impression was that lecturers did not have a clear and unified view of what the concept of competencies means. In some cases, this concept was re-interpreted within categories that were familiar to interviewees. Others found it very difficult to give a definition of the notion of competencies. For example, both Barbara and Camila could not formulate a consistent definition of the term competencies. In the case of Barbara, when asked what the concept meant, she talked for some minutes without providing a coherent answer, and finally she recognised: "*Competencies: I think I made a very vague reference...maybe we should open the dictionary*". On the other hand, Camila acknowledged immediately that it was not clear for her what the term competencies

meant and after a brief discussion she suggested that the concept was "*empty of meaning*".

Antonio also saw the notion of competencies as the revival of the technical rationality of the 1960s and 1970s and, similarly to his colleagues, he criticised the kind of person that the new curricular guidelines propose as an ideal that should be promoted in educational institutions. However, he related this criticism to the international division of labour, and this was something that was not explicitly picked up by other interviewees. As Antonio continued with his comment on the subordinate role that international agencies propose for Brazil and other "*Third World*" countries he said:

> *In a very simple language, I can say that the new curricular guidelines plan for us the education of a cunning individual...a person that will not be surprised by the change from Windows 98 to Windows 2000, an individual that when seeing a new machine will not be surprised...It is not necessarily a person that will construct new knowledge, but rather a person that will follow the changes. All of these [official] texts constantly talk about a world that is permanently changing. Well, but you are from Argentina and I am from Brazil... I don't know to what permanent changes they refer?... changes at which level? Do they mean changes at the level that now we have Windows XP? that now cable TV has an extra channel? or are they referring to more structural changes? that now there is no more hunger, that now income will be distributed differently...I think that these constant changes do not represent a change in the co-relation of forces: who gives orders and who receives them, who produces and who consumes...So, the position we are placed in with these constant changes is one in which we have to follow these changes but from the same position in which we are now, at the end of the process, in the tail...and being the labour that does what the workers of the developed countries will not do because it is a degrading job, or because the workers' rights are more established in these countries and then it is cheaper to mount a factory in Mexico, Brazil or Argentina than to mount it in Germany or France. So, in my opinion, this discussion about competencies always reminds me of...Because I lived the times of technical rationality, I look at the new LDB and I see many things of the old LDB, looking at the new DCN I see many things of previous curricular guidelines that are being re-edited...Therefore, I am particularly resistant to the presence of a policy that defines itself in terms of competencies.*

Thus, Antonio questioned one of the main assumptions that have been identified in the proposals of international agencies: 'the permanently changing world that is propelled by technological progress'.

As has been shown in Chapter Three, this assumption is at the heart of the general system of thought that makes the proposals of international agencies possible. Furthermore, the whole universal model of education offered by these agencies is aimed at adapting educational systems to this 'world that is permanently changing'. As will be further discussed in the conclusion of this chapter, when Antonio questions this assumption he is problematising that which is postulated as self-evident in global educational discourse and, in this way, he is weakening the limitations for thought and action that this discourse implicitly imposes on teacher education in Brazil.

Meanwhile, one of the criticisms that Bebel made of the new DCN was that they proposed a pragmatic education for teachers. However, she added that since the education that teachers traditionally received in Brazil had been very academic, this shift could be interpreted positively. Nevertheless, as the conversation continued, her view on offering a pragmatic education to teachers was not so 'positive'. When asked about her opinion on the concept of competencies she said:

> *This is one of the points of major conflict with the law, because our position allows us to disagree or interpret the concept of competencies as we want. The discussion about competencies was introduced by teachers themselves. This was before the government stole the idea, transforming it into a pragmatic concept, even a technicist concept sometimes... We do not work with the idea of competencies in the sense that individuals need to acquire the conditions that are necessary to act in the labour market. We work with the idea of competencies in the sense of an education of the individual for a*

> *set of actions and possibilities in society...we work with the idea of a teacher that will prepare human beings, and not a teacher that will have a technical role...I would say that in University B, we are against the concept of competencies in the sense that the government has used it, but we have also given to the concept of competencies a use that corresponds to our own vision...The critique of a pragmatic education that prepares for the labour market is strong in this institution.*

Thus, the view that the new curricular guidelines of the Brazilian State are oriented mostly towards preparing students for the labour market is widespread. This is seen by the teacher educators that were interviewed as a negative aspect of the reform, and as something that should be resisted.

The different interpretations that the concept of competencies has been given by the six lecturers that were interviewed suggest that even though the appropriation of the notion of competencies from international agencies created the conditions of possibility for certain discursive limitations that demarcate the pre-established terrain in which interpretations can take place, within these limitations there were very different views on this concept. In some cases, the notion of competencies was re-interpreted within categories that were familiar to teacher educators (behavioural objectives, the objectives of Bloom, technical rationality). In other cases, interviewees found it difficult to define what they understood by the notion of competencies. The difficulties in defining the notion of competencies, that is in theory the basis of the new paradigm in teacher education in Brazil, reveals once again the problem faced by practitioners who have to translate policies into interactive and sustainable practices. It might be easy to define a curricular document as a set of competencies that have to be transmitted, yet putting this kind of education into practice – defining the kind of activities that have to take place to transmit competencies – is not so easy. Finally, the institutional culture is another issue

that affects the way in which the concept of competencies (and other ideas contained in the DCN) was interpreted.

In addition, Bebel pointed out that the concept of competencies was originally used by teachers and then "stolen" by the government and given another meaning. Other interviewees picked up this idea when referring to the contradictions that they found in the DCN. For example, when asked about her general opinion on the DCN, Ana said:

> *This document, like every curricular proposal, mixes different theoretical orientations. Thus, there are parts of these documents in which we can find old demands of teachers and of ANFOPE [National Association of Teacher Education]. Thus, reading many of the things that are included here you can say 'I agree...Oh, I've always defended this, that the education of teachers has to be oriented towards a synthesis between theory and practice'...Now, on the other hand, these ideas that educators and researchers have always defended, are mixed with other ideas that from my point of view should be fought against.*

Antonio shared a similar view:

> *When you look at the official texts – DCN, PCN – they seem to consider a series of historical demands of the teacher movements...Examining all of the regulations as a whole, I have two impressions. In the first place, they have made an attempt (which to a certain extent is honest and with good intentions) to appropriate many discourses, many tendencies at the same time. This sometimes turns into an epistemological salad, because there are ideas which are irreconcilable. My second impression is that this discourse that includes many perspectives, is being used in practice to neutralise the opposition...*

Later, when asked about his opinion on the promotion of competencies such as creativity, adaptability, flexibility, Antonio picked up this issue again:

> *I think that this is another discursive concession...I think that this is a tactic...instead of censuring what you say, I apparently incorporate what you say. Instead of positioning myself against you, I seem to incorporate some things that you say and with that I disarm you ...they are not going to write that we are preparing labour for the developed world, they cannot do that. So they have to put something like competencies, flexibility, creativity...I think that once again, or there is an enormous ingenuity,*

> *thinking that you can get everything together, obtaining a political reconciliation, or... The biggest mistake of these policies is the illusion (I do not know if it is an ingenuous illusion, but let's give them the benefit of the doubt and think they had the best of intentions)...the illusion that it is possible to reconcile that which is irreconcilable. At some time there has to be a conflict, and one chooses...Every country (but especially countries with economical problems, like both our countries) has to choose, and these regulations seem to agree with everybody at the same time.*

Therefore, interviewees identified some principles within the DCN with which they agreed. However, some of the participants interpreted the inclusion of these concepts as a tactic of the government to neutralise opposition. Bebel suggested that as the government incorporated concepts such as competencies, they altered the meaning of these concepts. Others, like Ana and Antonio, argued that the ideas that educators had 'always' defended were mixed with other contradictory ideas. There seems to be confusion, and different opinions, amongst interviewees when they were trying to establish where the ideas contained in the DCN come from. Some of the participants identified the origin of these ideas in international agencies, while others mentioned the historical demands of teacher movements.

Finally, two types of critiques of the government's regulations were found amongst interviewees. Some, such as Ana, Antonio or Bebel, based their critique on a detailed study of the DCN and other official documents, and on their ideological positions. In other cases, resistance seemed to be almost automatic, in the sense that participants immediately stated their position against the new DCN when asked about their general opinion, but then, as the conversation continued into a more detailed analysis of the curricular guidelines, they found it difficult to sustain their position against these regulations.

At the beginning of the interview Barbara suggested that the DCN were "*neo-liberal*", and that as a consequence she (and her colleagues) resisted these curricular guidelines. However, she added that due to the evaluation system they would have eventually to accept these regulations. She then said, "*some older professors say that we should resist more*". Thus, she saw the need to express her resistance as a cultural mandate of her profession. Consequently, her 'resistance' was a kind of mechanical reaction to the questions. It seemed as though she felt that she had to criticise the DCN, but her criticisms were not supported by evidence and a clear rationale. On the contrary, as the conversation continued it was apparent that she agreed with many of the principles contained in the curricular documents. In other words, it was as though she strongly wanted to resist and criticise the governments proposals, but she did not find the way to do it, feeling quite frustrated about the situation:

> *...the question of diversity, for example, or the question of the role of the school, they are beautifully described here. I doubt that somebody can disagree with this, because they are fundamental values for living together...it is only that...that is to say...in reality, my feeling is as though they were giving us a recipe...the text is so well made, so well organised, that it does not even give you any space to think about other situations...*

As she was presented with different principles that were included in the DCN she agreed with most of them, and at one point she did not feel very comfortable about her conformity with the DCN and she said, "*you are going to think that I wrote this document myself*".

By the end of the interview, Barbara was asked about the fact that she started talking about resistance and then, when presented with a detailed analysis of the DCN,

she agreed with most of the principles contained in the document. She answered in the following way:

> *One thing is to agree with the ideal, another thing is to put this into practice. It does not only depend on the good will of the teacher...my resistance refers to the fact that at many times we would like these things to happen, but it does not only depend on our good will. It is foul play, isn't it? You could simply say that it is the teacher who does not want to do these things. I do not disagree with these guidelines, I disagree with the way in which they are being implemented. It is very nice to write poetry, preaching about a better world, but in order to put these things into practice there has to be certain conditions, one has to have time, we do not have enough time to do this...*

Thus, Barbara's responses stress once again the problems faced by teacher educators in putting policies into practice, and her main criticism – that the material conditions that would allow putting these regulations into practice were not being considered – was also mentioned by other interviewees. On the other hand, Barbara's responses suggest that there could be a kind of 'culture of resistance' towards the government's resolutions amongst Brazilian educators: they feel they have to resist even before analysing in detail the government's proposals.

Conclusion

As has been mentioned, the aim of this section was not to understand how teacher educators in Brazil interpreted the curricular guidelines of the state, since no major generalisations should be made out of the interpretations of six teacher educators. Nevertheless, the data obtained in the interviews suggest that, overall, the definitions of concepts of pedagogic knowledge and curricular control promoted by international agencies – stressing experimentation, creativity and autonomy – were not questioned by

the teacher educators who were interviewed. As has been shown in Chapter Four similar ideas had already been promoted in Brazil with *Escolanovismo*.

Meanwhile, the pedagogic identity promoted by international agencies – that defined the professional role of teachers as one in which their main task is to prepare students for work in a technologically driven, ever changing future – was rejected by interviewees. Furthermore, the idea that both students and teachers should receive an education that is based on the fostering of competencies – an idea that is fundamental in the proposals of international agencies – was strongly questioned. The idea that Brazilian education should be based on the development of competencies was extensively discussed in the interviews and, consequently, analysing how this idea was interpreted gave the clearest hints on how global educational discourse was adopted and adapted in teacher education practices in Brazil.

Interviewees had the feeling that very little had changed due to the DCN, both in their institutions and in their own courses. However, all institutions had established a commission to discuss the implementation of these curricular guidelines, and some participants acknowledged that they were discussing the notion of competencies in their lessons. This suggests that the discursive frame in teacher education in Brazil was altered by the curricular reform that adopted the ideas contained in the proposals of international agencies.

Nevertheless, within this discursive frame, the ideas promoted by international agencies were re-interpreted by teacher educators. Re-interpretations had to do mainly

with the autonomy of universities; with pre-existing institutional cultures; with the re-interpretation of concepts such as competencies within categories that were familiar to interviewees; and with a kind of culture of resistance against the government's resolutions. In addition, these re-interpretations were related to the problems faced by teacher educators when trying to translate the abstract simplicities of policies (or recommendations of international agencies) into context-bound practices. For example, some of the interviewees mentioned the difficulties they found in putting these policies into practice due to the lack of resources, such as time. Others mentioned that the material conditions that would allow putting these guidelines into practice were not being considered by the government, making it impossible for lecturers to introduce into their lessons the new proposals.

Thus, the evidence that has been presented suggests that lecturers do act as mediators in the message that is transmitted from the state to future teachers, re-interpreting the ideas that were promoted by international agencies and adopted by Brazilian curricular policies. In some cases, a critical stance was adopted by teacher educators against some of these ideas. However, these struggles over the interpretation and enactment of policies take place within a discursive frame that is partly limited by global educational discourse, but also by other pre-existing discourses, such as institutional cultures.

Nevertheless, the discursive limitations implicitly shaped by global educational discourse are not inviolable, as shown by Antonio's questioning of one of the main assumptions that underlie the proposals of international agencies: that the future will

present a 'forever rapidly changing world' influenced by the rhythm of technological 'progress'. It has been emphasised that discursive limitations operate as a system of possibility for knowledge: by creating the possibility for certain interpretations of the world, they constrain the possibility for other interpretations to arise. It would be expected that if (some) teacher educators question the assumptions that sustain the interpretation of the world contained in global educational discourse, the possibilities for other interpretations to arise are enhanced.

However, Antonio had certain resources and possibilities to engage with global educational discourse that allowed him to 'violate' the discursive limitations implicitly shaped by this discourse. Bernstein's theory on how the different positioning of subjects within the pedagogic device provides them with different resources to interpret and act upon pedagogic discourse can further illuminate the analysis of Antonio's response. Antonio's positioning as a researcher was fundamental for him to be able to question one of the essential assumptions on which the proposals of international agencies were based. Furthermore, throughout the analysis of the interviews that were presented there were other clear signs of how the specific positioning of Brazilian interviewees (university lecturers) provided them with possibilities for a critical engagement with global educational discourse.

For example, most interviewees (and institutional documents) emphasised the autonomous relation that the universities have to the ORF as a fundamental motive for the critical stance that they adopted against curricular documents. In other cases, participants said that they based their lessons on their own research and on discussions

with colleagues, rather than on the regulations of the state. Of course, the possibility of using their own research is only available to teacher educators who are in a position that arises out of the production of educational discourse. This specific position of Brazilian lecturers (closer to the primary rather than to the secondary context) also provided them with certain resources that allowed them to recognise the influence of international agencies, and the contradictory theoretical orientations that they found in the curricular guidelines of the state.

In the next section an analysis of the interviews in Argentina will be presented. The third argument of this chapter is that the different positions of Argentine and Brazilian interviewees within the pedagogic device should result in these agents of recontextualization having different resources and possibilities to engage with and interpret global educational discourse. Following this argument, it would be expected that Argentine interviews would engage with global educational discourse from quite a different position; one that is much closer to the level of the reproduction of discourse rather than with its production.

Re-interpreting global educational discourse in practice in Argentina

When comparing the attitude of Argentine interviewees towards the new curricular guidelines with the attitude of Brazilian teacher educators, one of the most significant differences that can be found is the extent to which Argentine interviewees feel that they participated in the authorship of these guidelines. In the Argentine case, some of the respondents emphasised their participation in a series of meetings organised

by the Secretariat of Education in their district, promoting the involvement of teacher educators in the design of national (CBC) and jurisdictional curricular guidelines (DCJ). For example, when asked about whether she had read the CBC Diana said:

> *We made these, with our contribution...there were 4 years of meetings, and on this basis we produced the first ones [referring to the national curricular guidelines]...then came the curricular guidelines of the City...We made these contents, they came out of our meetings, the three editions until we got to the current one...When the first CBC came out we started to implement these changes, although it was not compulsory at the time. We tried to convince our own colleagues to start to transform their programmes on the basis of these new CBC...*

Similarly, Lorena, who works in the Province of Buenos Aires, also felt she participated in the design of the curricular guidelines:

> *First we had meetings in the institute, because that was the mandate. Each institute worked with its coordinators. Later, when the material that we prepared went to La Plata [capital of the Province of Buenos Aires] we had meetings within the different regions... we analysed the materials that every institute brought and we made a general agreement on the curricular structure...*
> *Q: Was this reflected in the DCJ?*
> *Yes, yes, totally. At that time there was a lot of participation of teacher educators.*

Thus, some of the respondents felt that they had (at least formally) participated in the design of the curricular guidelines representing their institution. Even those interviewees that did not participate in the curricular design had a positive view of the teams that did participate.

For example, Gabriela (who did not participate) said: "*the people who designed these documents are not political bureaucrats...they are the theoreticians, technicians and specialists that worked in the curricular transformation. So, it is interesting. The people who made it are interesting, the bibliography that they use is interesting...it is*

not a bureaucratic document." Similarly, Graciela noted that she knew very well the experts who made the curricular guidelines for her area (didactics of natural sciences) because she had studied with them. Consequently, she said she agreed with some of the contents and not with others, but "*overall we follow the same logic*".

Although interviewees came only from two of the 24 districts in Argentina, some significant differences in the way that each district managed the implementation of the curriculum in practice were mentioned. Dolores, who works both in the City of Buenos Aires and in the Province said:

> *In the City of Buenos Aires we had much more support from the government, the process was better organised... we had a lot of support. They promoted meetings...of course that some people were more committed than others, but the meetings were called within our working hours. So, there were chances for receiving training, discussing ideas with colleagues both in the district and within the institution. In the Province of Buenos Aires no. Of course the Province is very chaotic. This is related to what is going on, to the poverty that can be found in the Province.*

Thus, although only two of the 24 Argentine provinces were considered, the analysis suggests that the implementation of the curricular reform in teacher education in Argentina was affected by different contextual factors in each province, resulting in different processes in practice. Of course, some differences in the way that districts interpreted the national curricular guidelines were expected and contemplated in the reform: the whole idea of decentralising the curriculum was – in theory – to allow for adaptation of the national guidelines to the different cultures of the districts. However, the differences mentioned by interviewees were related to social and economic problems that were not contemplated in the reform. As will be further discussed, these different contextual factors in the districts also affected the way in which institutions adapted to

the new curricular regulations.

Nevertheless, even within different processes in the two districts that are being analysed, the overall feeling amongst Argentine interviewees was that teacher educators had participated in the design of the new curricular guidelines. As opposed to the Brazilian case, international agencies were not mentioned by Argentine educators when reflecting on the origin of the ideas contained in the curricular reform. In some cases interviewees suggested that Argentine policies had been influenced by the Spanish reform, but this was mentioned as a neutral statement and not as a negative (or positive) aspect of the reform.

This difference in perceptions about the origins of the guiding principles of the Argentine and Brazilian reforms could partly explain that in the Argentine case there was less explicit resistance to the curricular reform. Throughout the conversations it became clear that interviewees had incorporated much of the language of the reform, referring to issues such as the importance of adapting to different contexts, using different teaching strategies, reflecting on practice, and the importance of opening up the school to the 'outside world'. Some of the participants also used spontaneously the word 'competencies' to describe the kind of education that they offer their students, mentioning some competencies that were present in the proposals of international agencies, such as creativity, autonomy and flexibility.

The appropriation of the language used by international agencies to define their universal model of teacher education, which was also reflected in the curricular

documents, suggests that global educational discourse did permeate into actual teacher education practices in Argentina, influencing the way in which teacher educators think about the kind of education that they offer to trainees, and contributing to the transformation of the discursive frame in teacher education in Argentina. Nevertheless, differences in context-specific circumstances in the Argentine provinces suggest that within these discursive limitations there were different interpretations of the curricular documents, and different practical effects throughout the country.

When asked about how much the new curricular guidelines had actually changed the kind of education that is offered to teacher trainees in their institutions, all participants said that overall their institutions had adapted to the new curricular guidelines. Interviewees stressed that the new curricular documents and meeting with their colleagues had been helpful in delimiting which contents should be included in each subject, avoiding repetition or missing some issues that they considered to be important.

However, these meetings at the institutional level that were seen as a positive change were also affected by context-specific problems, especially in the Province of Buenos Aires. Lorena referred to these problems:

> *When this plan started we thought that there was going to be some time for teacher educators to meet, but then when everything that happened happened [she refers to the social and economic crisis in Argentina during 2001 and 2002] that time was not there. So, there is a danger, and in fact it happens, because we are evaluating this, there have been two meetings in La Plata already... We agreed that if we are not going to have time to work together, other than the work in class with pupils, it would be more convenient to have the contents of each subject more delimited rather than to have the curricular document divided into different 'perspectives',*

because there are superimpositions, and pupils perceive this. We know because we made a survey.

Later she explained that institutional meetings had been cancelled because the provincial government had to cut its costs to face the economic crisis, and they decided to pay teacher educators only for the time they spent in the classroom, cutting payment for all extra time spent in institutional meetings.

This shows once again how context-specific circumstances that are not taken into consideration in the abstract universal model for teacher education promoted by international agencies can seriously affect the results of the implementation of this model in practice. As an abstract ideal it might be preferable to give those who teach different subjects considerable space for them to decide which specific contents should be discussed in each lesson, but if educators do not have the opportunity to meet and agree on which contents each one of them is going to include, a flexible curricular document might result in students discussing the same contents in different lessons while some important contents could be left behind. In addition, the coherence between different subjects in the course could be seriously affected, since there is no opportunity for practitioners to think about the teacher training course as a whole. This overall perspective, which was previously provided by a prescriptive curriculum, and later by institutional meetings, was lost as meetings were cancelled.

Furthermore, some of the interviewees suggested that the social and economic crisis not only affected the possibility for practitioners to meet and discuss the curricular change, but it also affected the possibility for teacher educators to think about these

issues. As Dolores said:

> *I don't think there is much reflection about the new curricular documents in the Province of Buenos Aires...at the time they arrived yes, they were revised, but then each one continued...the situation is overwhelming, there is a lot of conflict with educators in the Province, there are many difficult things that are happening to them, such as social problems, insecurity, instability in their job, many things that put the curricular document on another plane of importance...it is terrible what is happening with educators in the Province...they are fed up, and there is not much control...*

Once again, these kinds of circumstances are not contemplated in the universal model of teacher education promoted by international agencies and, of course, they could never be contemplated, since different circumstances would affect educators in different contexts. As Ball says, policies can change some of the circumstances in which educators work, but they cannot change all of these circumstances[41]. The universal model of teacher education promoted by international agencies confronts each of the teacher educators in Argentina (in this specific case) with a number of problems that are involved in the translation of the model into sustainable practices. However, if educators are at the same time faced with a number of more urgent problems, such as insecurity, poverty and low salaries, the translation of the model into practice is perceived as having less importance, and its systematic implementation is seriously affected.

Even within a district such as the City of Buenos Aires, where the economic situation of the local government was not so difficult and institutions continued to receive support and money for institutional meetings, interviewees noted that changes in the kind of education that trainees receive depended much more on each individual teacher educator than on a new curricular regulation. When asked about whether she felt that the new curricular regulation had changed the way in which colleagues in her

institution were teaching Diana said:

> *Well, the way in which teacher educators work has to change, but I can tell you that not all of them did it.. I can tell you that I have colleagues who changed the syllabus, but still give their lectures in the same way...This has to do with the spirit of each one. You do not get this from teacher education nor from a CBC. The CBC could be perfect, but if people change their syllabus but not their lessons, pupils do not learn and they do not have competencies.*

This stress on individual educators was also mentioned by Gabriela and Graciela, suggesting that changes in their institution had more to do with the arrival of new colleagues, rather than with the new curricular guidelines. As Gabriela said:

> *Yes, the meetings are important, but I insist on the same thing: if you work with the same people you cannot ask for any kind of transformation. They are going to do the same thing with another name. And of this I have several examples. We had some colleagues who adapted their lessons without the need for a new study plan...And we had others who have not updated the contents or the methodology of their lessons even with a new plan. As a system we do not have much possibilities to intervene...*

Thus, at the institutional level participants suggested that institutions had adapted to the new regulations but, once again, the implementation of the new curricular regulation in institutions was affected by different contextual 'realities'. Furthermore, the general feeling amongst interviewees was that even though provincial governments and institutions implemented certain strategies, such as meeting and professional development courses, to promote the adaptation of institutions to the new curricular regulation, this adaptation depended on the commitment and possibilities of each individual teacher educator. In addition, participants strongly suggested that many of their colleagues had adapted superficially, changing their written syllabus but not the actual contents and methodology of their courses.

When asked about how much the new curricular regulation had changed their

own practice, responses varied, but overall participants said that to plan their syllabuses they followed the DCJ (in some cases also the CBC). Then, according to their experience and in meetings with their colleagues, they decided exactly which contents should be covered in their lessons. For example, Lorena said: "*I follow it strictly [the DCJ]...because I am not the only person who teaches this...*". Graciela made a distinction between the national and the jurisdictional documents saying that for her the CBC were simply a "*kind suggestion*" which she did not take into consideration, but she did follow the DCJ because "*I am preparing teachers who have to be included within a system*". Therefore, interviewees accepted that they had to follow certain rules to make sure that students in their lessons would be learning something similar to those in other institutions and, in this way, there would be a certain coherence in the system allowing for the mobility of students between districts and institutions. Furthermore, some celebrated this coherence as an advantage of the reform.

Nevertheless, participants had different interpretations on what to follow the curricular documents meant. Some were more strict (as mentioned in the previous paragraph), while others saw the curricular documents only as a guide. For example, after mentioning that she sometimes decided (with her colleagues) to add some "*significant*" themes that were not included in the curricular documents, Laura said:

> *We follow it [the curricular document] but it does not have to be so strict...for example we consider that some of the contents that appear in the DCJ are not so significant...so we do not take those into account...so, it is a base that we have, a guide, but we do not have to follow them literally. The same happens with the learning outcomes that appear there, we do not have to follow them literally.*

Thus, interviewees had different interpretations of what 'to follow the curricular

documents' meant. As the conversation with interviewees continued, they were asked about how they interpreted some specific principles that were promoted by international agencies and included in national curricular documents. Some interesting continuities arose when they reflected on the extent to which these principles (or the new curricular regulation in general) had changed their practice.

Four of the participants said that they were already doing what the new curricular documents prescribed and that the reform had 'legalised' their practices. Dolores noted that the curricular reform did change her practice. For example, she said that taking the heterogeneity of the students into consideration, and using this as a theme in her lessons was something that she started doing as a consequence of the reform. She then added:

> *Another theme was taking the perspective of the institution. I was doing this before because I included 'the school as an organisation' in my lessons but now it is clearly prescribed. So, in a way I was favoured by this, because I was already working with this perspective, considering the institution and not only the perspective of the teacher*

Graciela made a similar comment but in reference to the DCJ in general. When asked about how the DCJ had changed her practice she said:

> *It did not change at all, but I am a special case...I cannot generalise...because for me it was no novelty. For me, only for me, this was the legitimation of what I was already doing...for other colleagues it could be very different.*

Diana had a similar feeling: "*[the curricular reform] was useful for me because it legalised what I was already doing*"; and Gabriela also said 'she was doing it before' when asked if the idea of transmitting competencies (and not only information) had changed her practice.

Thus, in some cases participants interpreted the new curricular regulation as a legitimation of their existing practices. Consequently, they felt that there was no need for them to adapt their practices to the new official discourse. They rather felt that the new official discourse could be adapted to describe their existing practices.

In a few other cases, participants said that their practices had changed with the reform. For example, when Laura was asked whether the idea that teachers should be able to participate in decisions related to the definition of contents had changed her practice she said:

> *Yes, I changed. Before I did not emphasise that, now I do... I try to transmit this competency so that they can think critically and not be passive receptors that have to obey and do what they are told to do...but also they have to take into consideration that it is good to have at least some common criteria within an institution and also within a country because to think critically is not to do whatever you want on your own...*

Therefore, overall, most participants said that they did follow the new curricular documents. Either they felt that the reform had legitimised what they were already doing or they felt they adapted their practices.

However, it is important to note that although in most cases interviewees said that they did follow the new curricular regulation they also stated that many of their colleagues did not follow the new guidelines and continued doing the same thing as before while only changing the written syllabus of their classes. This inconsistency in what participants say about their own practices and what they perceive in their colleagues' work suggests that the validity of these comments as an indication of the implementation of the new curricular guidelines should be doubted. Rather, these

comments can be seen as an example of the difficulties faced by interviewees in making a self-evaluation of their own practice and sharing it with an interviewer. In addition, this inconsistency shows some limitations of interviews as a method for collecting data about what people do (or did); or at least it shows that responses to this type of questions – instead of asking them what they think (or how they construct meaning out of the new curricular documents) I was asking them about what they (and others) do or have done – cannot be taken at face value.

Nevertheless, even if the teacher educators that were interviewed did follow the new curricular regulation, this does not mean that they were all offering the same kind of education to their students. As the conversations continued responses indicated that there were differences in the way that participants interpreted the curricular guidelines of the state.

As in Brazil, the different interpretations that teacher educators made of the curricular documents can be illustrated through an analysis of their comments on the concept of competencies, which is central in the definition of the new kind of teacher that is promoted in the reform. Overall, it seemed as though interviewees did not have a clear and unified view of what the concept of competencies meant. Furthermore, in the case of Laura, she acknowledged that she was not sure of what was the meaning of this concept:

> *I do not understand very well what it means. I am embarrassed to say this, but...this is what I was talking to you about at the beginning, saying that [in the new curricular documents] there are lots of words and lots of changes in terminology that maybe represent the same things...*
> *When we get together with colleagues we repeat this definition: it is the*

> *use of knowledge, so it is not only the accumulation of knowledge but also that students acquire the capacity to act with this knowledge...[using this definition] is like a defence mechanism*

She then explained that she had huge difficulties when trying to teach her students these kinds of concepts, such as the differences between concepts of 'learning outcomes' and 'competencies'. She then added:

> *I think that if we understand by competencies the capacity to put knowledge into action I think it is good...not to transmit only information, but competencies that are more comprehensive. We have to aim at this: teaching more competencies. What happens is that it has this name now, but I think that before we also tried to do the same thing, only that we did not call it 'competencies'...*

Thus, Laura's comments show once again the difficulties faced by practitioners when trying to translate policy texts into practices. The difficulty in defining a concept that is central in the new curricular regulation for teacher education suggests serious problems for Laura (and probably for many other teacher educators) in trying to transmit to trainees the idea that they should think of the education they offer to their students in terms of competencies. If Laura and her colleagues repeat a definition – which they admit not to really understand – as a 'defence mechanism' in their own meetings they probably do not have many possibilities for involving in a productive interaction with their students when discussing these issues. Furthermore, as an implicit 'defence mechanism', Laura interpreted the use of the concept of competencies in the new curricular documents simply as a change in terminology that does not imply any necessary change in her practice. In this way, Laura was using this interpretation as an implicit strategy to solve the problem of translating policy into practice.

Other interviewees were more confident with the use of the notion of

competencies, and offered some indications on how they defined this concept in practice. However, interpretations varied from one interviewee to another. Lorena said:

> *It is one of the themes [of my lessons]...we analyse the competencies of the curricular guidelines for primary and secondary education: What does it mean, for example, technological competency, that is a new language, because linguistic competency is easy to understand, ethical competency also (more or less), but technologic competency is not so easy...also socio-political competency. What does each one of them mean?...They have to study them as a content, but then they have to use them when they plan.*

As the conversation about 'competencies' continued she related this concept to the "*objectives of Bloom*", and suggested that these were more "*instrumental*" while competencies was a "*more comprehensive*" concept. She also acknowledged that she did have some difficulties defining this concept, which she overcame with the help of the literature:

> *At the beginning we did not have much material. Then, with the Delors Report in 1990 the competencies were defined: what is a competent student?...I work the concept of competencies from there, from the document Education for All.*

Thus, Lorena's responses suggest that she had quite a different interpretation of the concept of competencies when compared to Laura's. In ways that were similar to what happened when some of the Brazilian teacher educators were interviewed, Lorena also re-interpreted the notion of competencies within categories that were familiar to her – as a "*more comprehensive*" re-edition of the 'objectives of Bloom'.

Lorena was the only Argentine respondent who mentioned international agencies, saying that she took the definition of competencies from the Delors Report published by UNESCO. This shows the different reputation that some of the international agencies have amongst teacher educators in Argentina and Brazil. As

shown in the previous section, Brazilian interviewees mentioned international financial organisations, such as the World Bank or the IMF, as a negative influence. Meanwhile, in Argentina, Lorena used UNESCO's publication to make sense of some aspect of the new curricular guideline, implicitly indicating that she perceived UNESCO as a positive influence.

Meanwhile, Graciela showed some confusion in her understanding of the origin of the word competencies as it appeared in the Argentine curricular documents:

> *Here in the City of Buenos Aires the concept of competencies is taken from Perrenoud. Anyway I think that the concept of competencies is used in the DCJ and in the CBC from the American perspective...– as a number of abilities that students should attain – something that is related to a technocratic perspective...I think that that aspect [of the reform] has not been taken into consideration. At least teacher educators in this institution are working more on re-thinking the disciplines that they teach. In my opinion we are not yet thinking about what kind of teacher we are educating – in terms of which competencies we help them to construct...*
> *Q: What do you think of the idea expressed in the CBC saying that contents are no longer important in themselves but that they should be used as an excuse to transmit competencies?*
> *I disagree completely with that position...I think that knowledge has an intrinsic value...it is important to teach competencies but I believe that there is a very technocratic position hidden within this and I resist this posture...I think that these young people need to have a good education in the disciplines, which they do not have...*

A similar view of the concept of competencies was expressed by Dolores:

> *It is seen as a very technocratic concept. I think that it is not being taken into consideration. [The education of teachers] is still centred on the transmission of contents rather than competencies...*

Although later she said that the concept of competencies was important, that she did use it to think about the criteria for evaluating her students, and that this change in her practice was a result of the curricular reform, when asked about what her colleagues were doing she added:

> *No, in reality I think that there is not much discussion about this... in general there are difficulties with this theme. Most of my colleagues are thinking in terms of which contents the students appropriated and not in terms of which competencies they acquired.*

Thus, different interpretations of the concept of competencies were offered by those who were interviewed. Furthermore, while Laura thought that an education based on the transmission of competencies was being offered even before the reform (she perceived the use of the notion of competencies simply as a change in terminology) and that consequently there was no need to change her practice, Lorena and Dolores said that as a result of the reform they did adapt their lessons to foster competencies. Finally, Graciela and Dolores noted that teacher educators were not thinking of the education that they offer their students in terms of competencies. Therefore, not only did the participants have different interpretations of the notion of competencies, but they also had very different perceptions of the extent to which this concept was being translated into practice in teacher education in Argentina.

Nevertheless, participants did incorporate the use of the term 'competencies' into their language to define the kind of education they promote. As has been mentioned, interviewees used spontaneously the word competencies throughout the conversation (and not only when explicitly asked about it).

Thus, the appropriation of the notion of competencies from international agencies created the conditions of possibility for certain discursive limitations in teacher education in Argentina, demarcating the pre-established terrain in which interpretations can take place. However, within these limitations there were very different

interpretations of this concept. In some cases, the notion of competencies was re-interpreted within categories that were familiar to teacher educators (objectives of Bloom, technocratic perspective). In other cases, interviewees found it difficult to define what they understood by the notion of competencies. As in Brazil, difficulties in defining the notion of competencies, that is in theory the basis of the new kind of 'ideal teacher' promoted in teacher education in Argentina, reveal once again the problem faced by practitioners who have to translate policies into interactive and sustainable practices.

One of the most significant continuities throughout most interviews was that it was very difficult to engage participants in a conversation about the kind of knowledge that they transmit to their students. In other words, it was very difficult to make practitioners think about 'what kind of teacher they were trying to train'. Although efforts were made to ask interviewees about their interpretation/opinion on certain principles that had been identified in the proposals of international agencies and in national curricular documents, they kept raising much more practical issues. This difficulty in thinking abstractly on what kind of 'ideal' teacher they were trying to train was not explicit (rather an insight of the interviewer) except for the case of Graciela who made some explicit comments on how the interview had made her think in a much more 'abstract' way about her profession. When asked about whether she was putting into practice the idea that teachers should be mediators between students and knowledge she said:

> *I do not make this explicit at all. I do not talk about this with my students. I think I put it into practice, but I am not too aware of this. Now that you are asking maybe tonight I can reflect about this and see if I really do it.*

Later, once the interview was finished and with a worried look in her face, Graciela mentioned that she noticed that throughout the interview I had been asking her about what kind of teacher they were trying to train, and that her colleagues and herself never thought about their professional practice in those terms, "*each one of us is too worried about the discipline that we teach*", she said.

Graciela's comments and the difficulties that most other interviewees had in thinking abstractly about the kind of 'ideal' teacher they were training show the problems of communication between practitioners and policy texts that include the recommendations of international agencies.

One of the issues that was raised by most of the interviewees as one of the practical problems that they face when trying to put the curricular documents into practice was that the young people who enter teacher training institutions do not have a good education that could be used as a base for their training as teachers. For example, Gabriela said:

> *Our students come into this institution without the competencies that are necessary for a tertiary level. There are students that cannot learn autonomously...so, in some cases I have to work not with the knowledge that they bring, but with the knowledge that they do not bring. With other students this does not happen. One thing is what should happen according to the curricular documents and another thing is what happens in practice.*

Dolores made a similar comment but related this deficit to social and economic problems faced by students:

> *We work with students who have many difficulties. You know that we are in the zone of La Boca and Barracas and we work with students with difficulties...to understand, to express themselves, to write...that is what*

happens to us here.

Similarly, Diana and Lorena also emphasised the difficulties that students bring into teacher training institutions, showing that this is another case of a context-specific practical problem that the proposals of international agencies did not consider.

As in Brazil, another practical issue that was raised by interviewees was their concern about how the new distribution of time in the curricular regulation had affected their practice. When asked about how her institution had adapted to the new curricular regulation Gabriela replied:

> *I am not sure if we have already adapted completely. From my point of view one of the biggest difficulties for the institution was the division of the academic year into four-month terms. Because since 1875 we were an institution in which each subject lasted for the whole academic year. A four-month term is affected in many ways, such as teacher strikes or this new tradition of putting public holidays on Mondays. So if your class is on a Monday, you are in trouble. If for any reason there is a problem with the water system in the building or there is a transport strike and both things happen on the same day (say on two different Wednesdays or Fridays). To miss two classes in a four-month term can totally complicate things. Personally I have not yet adapted to the idea of organising contents and activities of my subject in that period of time. This year it is a little bit better...*

Although the regulation that divided the academic year into four-month periods was not necessarily related to the influence of international agencies, Gabriela's comment is an indication that, as in Brazil, the biggest concerns for practitioners are practical issues such as the distribution of time. Lorena also mentioned how the problem they had with 'time' affected the implementation of the new curricular documents: "*OK, a curriculum can establish certain ways of working, but the thing is also how you implement it, because if you have a very ambitious curriculum, but then you do not have the time, you do not have the possibility*". Thus, the concern about the use of time was an issue that

cut across the interpretations that participants made of the new curricular regulations both in Argentina and in Brazil.

However, the specific recommendation about the use of time contained in the proposals of international agencies and adopted by both Brazilian and Argentine policies – that practice-based training in schools should become a major part of the training of teachers – was interpreted very differently in each of these countries. For example, when Diana was asked about which were the most important innovations that she found in the new curricular regulation she said:

> *The new things are not so new because it is what we always asked for: this issue that practice-based training should cut across all of the course. Because what happened to us [with the old system] was that practice-based training only started after two and a half years ...trainees did not spend much time in the classroom.*

Her comment (which was also made by other participants) shows another significant difference with the Brazilian case, and it is an example of how an abstract ideal model can have different effects in different contexts of reception. In Brazil, definitions of pedagogic knowledge in *Escolanovismo* included the idea that future teachers should experiment with real classes, constructing their own pedagogic knowledge. Consequently, trainees in *Licenciaturas* already spent a great part of time in practice-based activities, and therefore interviewees considered the extension of time spent in these activities as "*delirious*" and impossible to administer. In Argentina, from the perspective of teacher educators, trainees spent very little time in practice-based training and, therefore, the extension of time spent by trainees in schools was seen as a positive aspect of the reform and, at least by Diana, as a response to a historical demand of teacher educators. Thus, as this abstract proposal of international agencies was localised

in different contexts the practical effects were very different in each of these specific contexts.

Dolores also mentioned the extension of time spent on practice-based training as an aspect that was incorporated by the new curricular regulation into teacher education in Argentina:

> *Yes, there was a renovation. Now there is a lot of time dedicated to practice-based training, but it is very difficult to get those who teach the disciplines (those that are not directly implicated in practice-based training) to take practice as an important aspect of the training of teachers. They still think that they only have to give their lesson, and they even forget sometimes that they are training teachers. I am talking about the colleague who teaches Spanish for example. Sometimes they do not think that they are preparing teachers...there is a space in which they should go and see their students in practice-based activities, but there is a lot of resistance...It is very difficult for them to work thinking that there is whole lot of learning that happens in practice-based activities and in the reflection on practice.*

Thus, Dolores mentioned some practical problems in the implementation of this recommendation of international agencies, and some resistance from colleagues to participate in practice-based training. These difficulties indicate how available dominant discourses – 'speaking' through teacher educators who mediate between the message of the state and trainees – block some of the global influences contained in the curriculum. As shown in Chapter Four, the kind of knowledge transmitted to teachers in Argentina has traditionally been based on an encyclopaedic culture with a strong division between the disciplines. Consequently, when the new regulation establishes that all teacher educators should participate of the practical training of their students this is not so easily accepted by educators who have always seen practice-based training in schools as a problem that belonged exclusively to those colleagues who were specifically in charge of those activities.

Dolores referred to other problems with the new emphasis on practice-based training. When asked whether she thought that the idea that teachers should be autonomous to decide the contents of their lessons was being promoted in teacher education, she said:

> *No, no, that does not happen. Unfortunately teachers use the manuals as a guide, and when they tell the trainees which themes they have to give in class they say: 'from page such and such this theme, from these other pages this other theme'...It is as terrible as that. Teachers are not aware that they have autonomy...and that on this basis they can design their own proposal. They do not do it.*
> *The kids in teacher education receive a double message, because we tell them that [the curriculum] is only a guideline, that they have to consider the group...that they have certain basic contents but then they can add, ignore or prioritise certain issues. But when they go to schools to do their practice-based training they learn that teachers do not do this. When trainees have to teach a certain theme the teacher opens the manual and says this theme is for you, this other one for you. The teacher does not take out his or her own plan or syllabus...The index of the manual is going to be their syllabus? That is what I ask my students. So then the author of that manual...who does not know the reality of Pehuajó, Bahia Blanca, Mar del Plata, or Avellaneda is telling me what I have to do? No, I am autonomous, this is my class, I know it, I know how I am going to work with this group...*

Thus, these comments show how the participation of trainees in practice-based activities in schools can have some undesired effects.

As indicated in previous chapters of this thesis, the recommendations of international agencies adopted in Argentine curricular regulations represent a significant rupture with previous curricula for teacher education. Consequently the new 'ideal teacher' that is promoted has to compete with existing ideas about what constitutes an 'ideal teacher'. Although the extension of time spent in practice-based training is proposed as a strategy to promote the new 'ideal teacher', in reality these activities

became an obstacle for the reform: when trainees go to schools for their practice-based training they receive a message that is very different from the one promoted in curricular guidelines for teacher education.

Furthermore, the principle that teachers should have autonomy to decide the contents of their lessons – promoted by international agencies and adopted by Argentine policies – also had some unanticipated consequences, and it is another case in which conflict between global educational discourse and dominant available discourses in teacher education in Argentina could be observed. These unanticipated consequences were mentioned by most interviewees. For example, Gabriela said:

> *What I've seen lately when I observe trainees doing their practices in schools, and the preparation of these activities, is that they prepare the classes with the same materials that the children use: the manuals... You have to look for information of another level! It is the children who have to look for information in the manuals and encyclopaedias, not the teacher. Teachers have to look for information in sources that are for an adult of the tertiary level.*

Thus, although the new curricular regulation in Argentina gives teachers a certain degree of autonomy to select the contents of their lessons, the responses of teacher educators indicate that (at least some) teachers do not use this autonomy. Rather, since the new curricular documents do not provide a detailed guide to which contents should be included, (some) teachers looked for another guide that could replace the prescriptive curriculum which they had in the past. They found this guide in the manuals that editing companies produce for students. Some indication as to why Argentine teachers use manuals as the guide for their lessons was offered by Graciela:

> *I think that the literature acts as a non-explicit curriculum... I work a lot with my students on the critique of the textbooks and manuals...what we try to do is to give them some criteria [to select contents], but in reality I think*

> *we are not being very successful, and I think that the proposals of the editorial companies is terribly strong...they are a parallel curriculum... OK, you are telling me that for the first time this issue that the teacher can select his or her contents has been incorporated in the curriculum...Ok, it is true, it is written down, but they have internalised so much the previous models that it is very difficult for them to break with this.*

Similarly, Lorena identified the idea that schools and teachers can select contents according to their specific needs as an influence of the English and US literature, and then she said: "*I am interested in that, but that is not our tradition, so it is difficult to put that into practice*".

Translating these comments into the language of this thesis, it could be said that these unexpected consequences of giving teachers curricular autonomy are perceived by interviewees as reflecting processes of recontextualization in which the meanings offered in global educational discourse were re-interpreted within available dominant discourses. As has been shown in Chapter Four, in Argentina teachers were not expected to have any participation in decisions related to the contents they had to transmit. Influenced by international agencies, the new regulation changed the meaning of the concept of curricular control. The reform emphasised autonomy and creativity on the side of teachers who should be able to have freedom to choose the specific contents of the lessons according to local context and students' characteristics, but respecting general guidelines from the central agencies of the state.

Thus, this new curricular regulation faces Argentine teachers with a type of problem that they never had before. In this way, teachers are given an autonomy for which they were not prepared. The new meaning that is given to the concept of

curricular control is re-interpreted within the discourses available to teachers, and they find in the manuals the guide that they no longer have in the curricular documents. Once again, an idea that is acceptable as an abstract ideal results in unexpected consequences as it is localised in practice and recontextualized.

Conclusion

As portrayed by the teacher educators who were interviewed, the implementation in Argentina of the universal model of teacher education promoted by international agencies was faced with several unexpected problems.

Interviewees mentioned the social and economic problems that affected Argentina as a significant obstacle in the processes of systematic implementation of the new curricula for teacher education, especially in the Province of Buenos Aires where teacher educators were no longer being paid for institutional meetings and the articulation between different curriculum subjects was affected. The differences between implementation processes in the City of Buenos Aires and in the Province, also suggest that different practical effects could be expected throughout the 24 Argentine provinces as the universal model of teacher education promoted by international agencies met different context-specific circumstances in each province. Other practical problems mentioned by participants were related to the inadequate educational level of people who enter into teacher education courses, and to difficulties in adapting to the new distribution of time proposed by the new curriculum.

Participants also suggested that they were making an effort to implement the new regulations, and they were worried about their failure to transform teacher education. Although these comments should not be taken face value, it could be assumed that some teacher educators are trying to implement the curricular change. Nevertheless, responses indicated (especially when discussing the notion of competencies) that interpretations that educators made of the curricular regulations varied, and that these different interpretations had diverse effects in practice.

Most of the interviewees said that they were already doing what the new curricular documents prescribed and that the reform had legitimised their practice. In this way, rather than adapting their practices to the new official discourse, they felt that the new official discourse could be adapted to describe their existing practices.

It was also shown that the implementation of some ideal principles in practice resulted in some unexpected effects. Sometimes these unexpected effects were related to context-specific circumstances that were not taken into consideration in the recommendations of international agencies or in Argentine curricular policies. For example, it was established as an ideal that in teacher education those who teach different subjects should be given an ample frame for them to decide which specific contents should be discussed in each lesson. However, as this ideal met the economic crisis which resulted in institutional meetings being cancelled, practitioners were left with no instance to think about the teacher training course as a whole, and some even suggested that, in that case, they preferred to have a curriculum that delimited more clearly the contents of each subject.

In other cases, unexpected effects of the implementation of an abstract ideal in practice were related to the re-interpretation that teacher educators (or teachers in schools) made of the proposals of international agencies within dominant discourses that were available to them; as illustrated by teachers who use the indexes of manuals to structure their lessons as a response to curricular autonomy.

Finally, another unexpected consequence of the adoption of the universal model of teacher education in Argentine curricular guidelines was found in the extension of time spent in practice-based training in schools that resulted in an obstacle for the promotion of a new 'ideal teacher'. As shown in Chapter Three, the proposals of international agencies included the proposition that it is through field experience that trainees can challenge the dichotomy between the acquisition and the application of knowledge. Assuming that this proposition could be true for the Argentine case, it is clear that even though trainees might challenge the dichotomy between theory and practice through field experience, they are also faced with another 'dichotomy' between what they learn in teacher education and what they see in 'real' school practice.

Thus, several examples have been found of ways in which the proposals of international agencies adopted in Argentine policies were re-interpreted by teacher educators as they were faced with the problem of translating these recommendations into interactive practices. However, these differences between the abstract universal model of teacher education promoted by international agencies and its implementation in practice in teacher education in Argentina does not entail that the adoption of this model in

Argentine curricular policies had no practical effects. As shown by some of the quotes included in this chapter, interviewees incorporated the language of the proposals of international agencies in their repertoire. This suggests that the re-interpretations that teacher educators made of the proposals of international agencies did take place within a discursive frame that is partly defined by global educational discourse.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that both in Brazil and in Argentina, global educational discourse did permeate actual teacher education practices, influencing the way in which teacher educators think about the kind of education that they offer to trainees, and contributing to the transformation of the discursive frame in teacher education in these two countries. However, within these discursive limitations, teacher educators did mediate between the message of the state and trainees, making different interpretations that had to do with different context specific circumstances and with different available discourses in these two countries.

Some significant differences were also identified in the resources and possibilities that Argentine and Brazilian teacher educators had to engage with and interpret global educational discourse. As has been said, the specific position of Brazilian lecturers (closer to the primary rather than to the secondary context) provided them with possibilities for a critical engagement with global educational discourse. In contrast, the Argentine interviewees, did not participate in the production of discourse, only in its reproduction. Thus, they had other resources and possibilities to engage and

act upon global educational discourse. For example, Brazilian lecturers indicated that they based their lesson plans on their research much more than on the directives of the state. Meanwhile, Argentine teacher educators said that they did follow the curricular guidelines of the state and mentioned their 'own experience' as a second source to plan their lessons.

Another example of how the different positions of interviewees within pedagogic discourse affected their interpretation of global educational discourse was found in the way in which Argentine and Brazilian lecturers perceived the origin of some of the ideas contained in the curricular guidelines of the state. In both cases interviewees identified some ideas within the curricular guidelines that 'responded to the demands of teachers'. However, the way in which Argentine and Brazilian lecturers interpreted the inclusion of these ideas was very different. Argentine interviewees felt that teacher educators had participated in the design of the curricular guidelines, they overall agreed with the proposals, and they incorporated much of the language of the reform into their own repertoire. Meanwhile, Brazilian participants had a much more critical stance. They interpreted the inclusion of these ideas that they 'had always defended' as a tactic of the government to neutralise opposition and, consequently, they suggested that irreconcilable theoretical orientations were being mixed, and that the curricular guidelines should be resisted.

Finally, although both Argentine and Brazilian interviewees had some difficulties in engaging in a discussion about the kind of knowledge that they transmit to their students, and they kept raising much more practical issues, this difficulty in thinking

abstractly on what kind of 'ideal' teacher they were trying to train was much more noticeable (and even explicit) in the Argentine case.

Thus, as global educational discourse was localised in practice in Argentina and in Brazil it contributed to the definition of discursive frames in these contexts. Within these limitations, two types of differences in the way that global educational discourse was recontextualized in Argentina and in Brazil were identified.

The first type of differences was related to different available discourses that existed in each of the contexts of reception. As global educational discourse moved into the Argentine and Brazilian educational systems it met context specific circumstances that were not taken into consideration in the model for teacher education promoted by international agencies. These context specific circumstances, that seriously affected the results of the implementation and recontextualization of the abstract universal model of teacher education in practice, were different in Argentina and in Brazil. Thus, global educational discourse was recontextualized differently in Argentina and in Brazil.

The second type of differences in the way that global educational discourse was recontextualized was not related to differences between available discourses in Argentina and Brazil. It was rather a consequence of the different positions of recontextualizing agents within an educational system which affected the resources and possibilities that these agents had to interpret and enact global educational discourse. University lecturers who are engaged in research and therefore participate both in the reproduction and production of pedagogic discourse had more resources and possibilities

to engage critically with global educational discourse than those educators who were only positioned within the context of reproduction of pedagogic discourse.

Thus, using Bernstein's theory this chapter has shown that the movement of a discourse from its context of conception to its context of reception results in a double transformation. One transformation is related to the 'interaction' of the discourse with available discourses in the context of reception. The other transformation results from the movement of this discourse between the different positions within the educational system. It is fundamental to consider this double transformation when developing a theory to map the circulation of discourse in the global educational field. Such a theoretical model will be delineated in the next chapter, where an overall conclusion to this thesis will be offered.

Endnotes

[1] Stephen Ball, "What Is Policy? Texts, Trajectories and Toolboxes," in *Sociology of Education: Major Themes Vol IV*, ed. Stephen Ball (London: Routledge Falmer, 2000).
[2] Ibid., p. 1831.
[3] Ibid., p. 1832.
[4] Ibid., p. 1834.
[5] Ibid., p. 1833.
[6] Ibid., pp. 1832-35.
[7] Ibid., p. 1834.
[8] Ibid., p. 1835.
[9] Ibid., p. 1836.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Stephen Ball, "Management as a Moral Technology: A Luddite Analysis," in *Foucault and Education: Disciplines and Knowledge*, ed. Stephen Ball (London: Routledge, 1990), p. 157.
[12] Ball, "What Is Policy? Texts, Trajectories and Toolboxes," p. 1837.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Basil Bernstein, *The Structuring of Pedagogic Discourse* (London: Routledge, 1990), p. 165.
[16] Ibid., p. 174. Although Bernstein uses the expression 'privileging text', he notes that he is using the word 'text' "both in a literal and in an extended sense. It can refer to the dominant curriculum, dominant pedagogic practice, but also to any pedagogic representation, spoken written, visual, postural, sartorial, spatial" (Ibid., p. 175). Furthermore, later in the same article, when analysing what he calls the pedagogic device, Bernstein turns to the use of the word 'discourse' (Ibid., p. 183 onwards). Thus, for the sake of coherency with the rest of this thesis the term 'discourse' has been used when reporting Bernstein's work.
[17] Ibid., p. 176.
[18] Ibid., pp. 176-77.
[19] Ibid., p. 190.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid., p. 191.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Ibid., p. 192.
[24] Ibid.
Bernstein includes other 'agencies' within the pedagogic recontextualizing field: "specialised media of education, weeklies, journals, etc., and publishing houses together with their readers and advisers" (Ibid). Undoubtedly, these other 'agencies' will affect the way in which global educational discourse was recontextualized in Argentina and Brazil. However, exploring how each of these agencies participates in the recontextualization of global educational discourse in Argentina and Brazil exceeds the possibilities of this thesis. Decision was made to concentrate on teacher educators as agents of recontextualization.
[25] Brazil, *Lei De Diretrizes E Bases Da Educação [Law of Guidelines and Foundations of Education]* (1996), Art. 62; Cited June 2002. Available from http://www.mec.gov.br/home/ftp/LDB.doc.
[26] Julio Emilio Diniz Pereira, "As Licenciaturas E as Novas Políticas Educacionais Para a Formação Docente [Licenciaturas and the New Educational Policies for Teacher Education]," *Educação e Sociedade* 20, no. 68 (1999).
[27] Inés Aguerrondo and Paula Pogré, *Las Instituciones De Formación Docente Como Centros De Innovación Pedagógica [Teacher Training Institutions as Centres of Pedagogic Innovation]* (Buenos Aires: Troquel, 2001), p. 50. It should be noted that these numbers refer to teachers who received their pedagogical training in universities. Especially in secondary education there are many professionals with a university degree who teach, but either they do not have a training in teaching or they participated of this kind of training in non-university institutions. Diker and Terigi, *La Formación De Maestros Y Profesores: Hoja De Ruta [The Training of Teachers: A Map]*, p. 62.
[28] Ibid., p. 192.
[29] Steinar Kvale, *Interviews: An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing* (Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: SAGE Publications, 1996), p. 105

[30] Ibid., p. 14
[31] In Argentina, interviewees who were finally selected had between 15 and 36 years of experience.
[32] Argentina Ministerio de Cultura y Educación de la Nación and Secretaría de Programación y Evaluación Educativa, *Censo Nacional De Docentes Y Establecimientos Educativos [National Census of Teachers and Educational Institutions]* (Buenos Aires: Ministerio de Cultura y Educación de la Nación, 1994), p. xxvi.
[33] Although there is no specific data on how many of the students of non-university higher education are teacher trainees, the literature coincides in noting that teacher education comprises the largest part of non-university higher education. 72% of all institutions of this educational level offer teacher education. Gabriela Diker and Flavia Terigi, *La Formación De Maestros Y Profesores: Hoja De Ruta [The Training of Teachers: A Map]* (Buenos Aires: Paidós, 1997), p. 58.
[34] Ibid., pp. 60-61.
[35] An analysis of local curricular documents for teacher education in both districts shows that the influences of global educational discourse are present (although they are weaker than in the CBC). Provincia de Buenos Aires Dirección General de Cultura y Educación, *Diseño Curricular: Formación Docente De Grado [Curricular Design: Initial Teacher Training]* (La Plata: 1999); Gobierno de la Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires Secretaría de Educación, *Lineamientos Curriculares De La Formación Docente Para Nivel Primario [Curricular Guidelines for Teacher Training for the Primary Level]* (Ciudad de Buenos Aires: 2001).
[36] After the analysis of interviewees in Brazil it became clear that the sample was too small to find any continuities or discontinuities between institutions. Thus, for the Argentine case there was no attempt to take institutions as a unit of analysis. Teacher educators who work in different institutions were selected.
[37] Andrew Brown and Paul Dowling, *Doing Research/Reading Research: A Mode of Interrogation for Education* (London: Falmer, 1998), p. 73.
[38] Brazil, Ministerio da Educação, *Resolução Cne/Cp 2/2002* (Brasilia: 2002).
[39] Brazil, Ministerio da Educação, *Diretrizes Curriculares Nacionais Para a Formação De Professores Da Educação Básica [National Curricular Guidelines for Basic Education Teacher]* (Brasilia: Ministerio da Educação, 2001), p. 18.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Ball, "What Is Policy? Texts, Trajectories and Toolboxes," p. 1834.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

The purpose of this final chapter is to extract the main ideas from the analysis offered in this thesis, and to reflect upon the arguments in the light of the evidence that has been presented. The chapter is divided into four sections. The first section considers how the evidence presented in this thesis contributed to an understanding of the processes through which international agencies influenced reforms of teacher education in Argentina and Brazil in the 1990s. In order to further understand the effects of the movement of global educational discourse into Argentina and Brazil, the second section introduces a new layer into the arguments of the thesis by presenting a brief and critical analysis of the contents of the universal model of education that was promoted by international agencies in the 1980s and 1990s. The third section reflects upon the contribution that this thesis has made to the field of comparative education by placing the findings of this thesis within a broader theoretical model to map the circulation of discourse in the global educational field. The fourth part of this conclusion suggests some further research that derives from the findings (and also from the limitations) of this thesis.

Global educational discourse in Argentina and Brazil

It has been shown in this thesis that UNESCO, the World Bank and OECD consider that one of their main roles is to disseminate 'cutting-edge' knowledge about education. Each of these agencies has different proposals for education. Furthermore, as illustrated by discussions about teachers and their profession presented in Chapter Three, these agencies have conflicting views on some

educational issues and they even engage in explicit controversy (as when UNESCO criticises the World Bank for making teachers the 'villains' of the difficulties faced by countries to reduce educational costs).

However, although the proposals of UNESCO, the World Bank and OECD are different, the analysis presented in Chapter Three identified a series of underlying assumptions that were common to the proposals of these organisations, revealing a general system of thought that made these simultaneous and apparently contradictory opinions possible.

An analysis of the assumptions about the future embedded in the work of these three agencies revealed a striking similarity in the way that these agencies read the future as 'the information age'. Furthermore, these agencies not only have a similar reading of the future, but they also promote very similar educational principles that should be used to adapt most educational systems to the information age. Thus, this thesis has identified within the educational proposals of these agencies a single universal model of teacher education, rather than three different models.

This model is offered as an ideal for most educational contexts. It should be used to judge most educational systems and, then, once the faults have been identified, as a model for reform. In this way this thesis has pointed out that international agencies are producing a global educational discourse.

This discourse is global because of its spatial scope (it has education in the

whole world as its object). It is also a global discourse in the sense that it is a theory that in the name of some 'true' knowledge, and some idea of what constitutes good education offers a universal model of education as a global strategy that could solve most educational problem in most local contexts.

It was pointed out that global educational discourse constructed its superiority through a set of powerful discursive oppositions[1]. The pedagogic identity that was promoted defined good teachers as adaptable and autonomous reflective practitioners who have the ability to work in groups, they are open to the world of work and the community, and are responsible for their own lifelong learning. This was set as opposed to traditional teachers who were defined as being inflexible, closed inside the school, unable to work with their colleagues, and not interested in updating their professional knowledge. Thus, the message was that this universally ideal teacher prepares students for the world of the future, while traditional teachers prepare students for a bygone world.

Similarly, in the meaning given to pedagogic knowledge in global educational discourse ideal teachers adapt their methods to individual students and context because they have a wide range of pedagogic skills and know how to use them, placing the child at the centre of the learning process. This implies that traditional teachers only know how to teach in a certain way and they are incapable of adapting to students and context. It is the student who has to adapt in the teacher-centred pedagogic style that traditional teachers use.

Finally, the meaning given to curricular control in global educational

discourse defined teachers as autonomous and creative professionals who can choose the contents for their lessons, as opposed to traditional teachers who are only capable of following detailed orders.

It has been shown in this thesis that global educational discourse moved into the Argentine and Brazilian educational systems in the 1990s. But what does it mean that a discourse 'moved' into Argentina and Brazil?

Producing educational reforms

The notion of discourse has been defined in this thesis as a form of power that circulates in the social field, implicitly defining a set of rules that divide thinkable from unthinkable ideas and the kind of practices that can be implemented from those that cannot be practised.

To understand what the movement of global educational discourse into the Argentine and Brazilian educational fields implies, it is important to consider the productive aspect of power. As Foucault says:

> What makes power hold good, what makes it accepted, is simply the fact that it doesn't only weigh on us a force that says no; it also traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse. It needs to be considered as a productive network that runs through the whole social body, much more than as a negative instance whose function is repression[2].

Thus, the movement of global educational discourse into the Argentine and Brazilian educational systems 'produced' an all-embracing reform of each of these educational systems, creating the conditions of possibility for certain educational ideas and practices, while at the same time limiting the possibility for other ways of thinking

about education – which is to say, ways of acting – to arise. Since the ideas and practices that could be included within global educational discourse implied a significant rupture with the kind of education that had been offered in Argentina and in Brazil, it was not only some aspects of these educational systems that were seen as being inefficient. The view was that the whole system had to be changed.

The overall rationale for these exhaustive reforms was found in the need to adapt to a 'new world order': globalisation, the information age, and knowledge economies. Therefore, the Argentine and Brazilian governments presented the need to adapt to these external pressures as something almost inevitable; and the question of how to adapt was portrayed as something that was already resolved. It was the ideal model of education for the information age promoted by international agencies that was used to judge the Argentine and Brazilian educational systems and, also, as a model for reform. The logic was that the Argentine and Brazilian educational systems might have been fit for an industrial age, but they were not appropriate for the information age. Consequently, the all-embracing reforms of the Argentine and Brazilian educational systems were based on the decentralisation of educational services, school autonomy, a new curricular policy based on the notion of competencies, a central evaluation system, and the professionalisation of teachers.

Similarly, in the reforms of teacher education in Argentina and Brazil, there was strong communication between international agencies and the level of official discourse in these countries. At this level, meanings given to notions of pedagogic identity, pedagogic knowledge and curricular control in global educational discourse displaced available meanings of these concepts in official discourse.

The influence of international agencies on Argentina and Brazil started to be evident when analysing how technocratic and developmental views moved into these teacher education systems in the 1950s and 1960s. Furthermore, some shifts that make the work of international agencies different from trans-national patterns of educational transfer also started to become apparent with the promotion of developmental and technocratic views.

The first, and most obvious, shift away from trans-national patterns of educational transfer is that transfer does not take place from one educational system to another, but from international agencies to specific educational systems. The distinctiveness of international agencies when compared with other actors in the educational field is that they do not act upon a particular educational context, they are abstracted from practice, and this has some significant consequences. International agencies do not seek to solve context-specific educational problems. Rather, they seek to identify some universal educational principles that could be applied in most educational systems to 'improve' education.

Thus, when promoting developmental and technocratic views international agencies were not trying to solve a context-specific educational problem, they were rather promoting a number of abstract universal social technologies (such as educational planning) that – in the logic of these agencies – could be used to improve education in most contexts.

This spatial shift that started to become apparent with the influence of

developmental views is even clearer when analysing the universal model of education for the information age promoted by international agencies in the 1990s. The model is not taken from a specific practice-bound educational context. The model has not been 'tested' in a given context. Rather it is an imagined abstract model that has been designed according to a series of predictions about the future which are legitimised by their 'scientific' status. The assumption underlying the design of such a model is that just as the educational needs of an 'industrial society' could be identified, so the educational needs of 'knowledge economies' can also be defined. Within this assumption is the belief that a series of countries in the world have become 'knowledge economies' and that this is the 'status' to which all societies should aspire[3].

The second shift in patterns of educational transfer that has been identified in this thesis is related to the sequencing of the process. In trans-national patterns of educational transfer, following a chronological order, a problem was identified, then a solution was looked for in a foreign system, and finally a 'tested' social technology was transferred. On the contrary, as international agencies promote certain universal educational principles, they simultaneously define the problems of an educational context and offer the solutions to these problems. Therefore, the movement of developmental and technocratic views into Argentina and Brazil was not a consequence of specific problems that were previously identified in each of these educational systems. Rather, international agencies defined the problems and at the same time offered the solutions to these problems.

This shift in the sequencing of the process of educational transfer also

becomes clearer when examining the movement of the universal model of education for the information age into Argentina and Brazil. The simultaneity and similarity in the all-embracing reforms implemented in Argentina and in Brazil – two countries with very different educational trajectories – suggests that these reforms were not triggered by a detailed analysis of the specific problems of these educational systems. On the contrary, these similarities suggest that one of the distinctive characteristics of this universal model of education is that it not only includes 'the solutions' to most educational problems, but it also defines these 'problems'. This abstract universal model is offered as a norm against which the adequacy of existing educational practices in a given context can be measured. By defining the 'problems' in a given educational context, international agencies set the agenda for discussions about how to 'improve' education. Then, once the 'problems' have been identified, there are only a limited number of themes that can be discussed, and a limited number of policy options that can 'solve' these 'problems'. These possible solutions are also offered in the model. Consequently, it is by defining the problems of an educational context and simultaneously offering the solutions to these problems that the model promoted by international agencies narrows the discursive space of possibilities in educational contexts to which it moves.

Thus, the strong influence of international agencies on Argentina and Brazil in the 1990s can be seen as the consolidation and intensification of a process that started in the 1950s. The beginnings of this process coincided with the shift in the main role of these organisations. As mentioned in Chapter Three, it was during the 1950s and 1960s that the original purpose of these agencies – to participate in the reconstruction of Europe – became redundant, and international agencies shifted their

target towards the 'development of the world'.

The connection between developmental influences and the influences of international agencies on Argentina and Brazil in the 1990s warrants further investigation and will be considered later in this conclusion. Nevertheless, what is clear for the moment is that from the 1950s international agencies started to have a strong influence on the vision of the future in Argentina and Brazil, as expressed in official documents and, especially, in the knowledge that is promoted for teacher education.

However, even though official documents promote certain specific knowledge for teacher trainees in Argentina and Brazil, this does not necessarily imply that these ideas, that were produced by international agencies and appropriated by the Argentine and Brazilian states, are being transmitted in teacher training institutions. The analysis offered in Chapter Six showed that the influence of international agencies became less clear at the level of practices, where processes of recontextualization were identified.

From official rhetoric to practice

Using Ball's[4] conception of policies both as text and as discourse it can be said that, overall, the movement of global educational discourse into Argentina and Brazil contributed to the transformation of discursive frames in teacher education in these countries. However, within these discursive limitations the ideas promoted by international agencies were re-interpreted by teacher educators as they were faced

with the problem of translating the simplicities of these recommendations into context-bound interactive practices.

Following Bernstein, the process of recontextualization has been defined for the purpose of this thesis as the transformations that take place as a discourse moves from one context to another. It was local assumptions about what constitutes good teacher education that defined the transformations of global educational discourse as it was recontextualized in these countries. In other words, as global educational discourse moved into the Argentine and Brazilian educational systems it met context-specific circumstances that were not taken into consideration in the recommendations of international agencies. These context-specific circumstances, that seriously affected the results of the implementation of the universal model of teacher education in practice, were different in Argentina and in Brazil. Thus, significant differences in the way that global educational discourse was interpreted in practice in Argentina and in Brazil were identified.

In Brazil, the re-interpretations that lecturers made of the proposals of international agencies were manly related to the autonomy of universities; to pre-existing institutional cultures; and to a kind of culture of resistance against the government's resolutions. Meanwhile, in Argentina, there was less resistance to the ideas promoted by international agencies and included in official curricular regulations. It was clear that interviewees had incorporated much of the language of the proposals of international agencies in their repertoire. However, several unexpected effects of the localising of global educational discourse in Argentina were mentioned by those who were interviewed.

Nevertheless, some continuities were identified throughout interviews in Argentina and in Brazil. Educators in both countries re-interpreted concepts, such as competencies, within categories that were familiar to them. In addition, these re-interpretations were related to the problems faced by teacher educators when trying to translate policies (or recommendations of international agencies) into context-bound practices. For example, some of the interviewees mentioned the difficulties they found because the material conditions that would allow putting these guidelines into practice were not being considered by the government, making it impossible for teacher educators to introduce into their lessons the new proposals. The concern about the use of time was another issue that cut across the interpretations that participants made of the new curricular regulations both in Argentina and in Brazil. This is an example of the lack of communication between international agencies, that are oriented towards the search for abstract universal principles that could be applied in almost every context to improve education, and context-bound practitioners in Argentina and Brazil who are much more worried about concrete and specific local problems.

However, although both Argentine and Brazilian interviewees had some difficulties in engaging in a discussion about the kind of knowledge that they transmit to their students, and they kept raising much more practical issues, this difficulty in thinking abstractly on what kind of 'ideal' teacher they were trying to train was much more noticeable in the Argentine case.

This difference between Argentine and Brazilian respondents was a

consequence of the different resources and possibilities that Argentine and Brazilian teacher educators had to engage with global educational discourse. In other words, the different positions of agents of recontextualization within an educational system also affected the way in which global educational discourse was recontextualized. The specific position of Brazilian lecturers within the university (closer to the primary rather than to the secondary context) provided them with possibilities for a critical engagement with global educational discourse. Argentine interviewees, instead, did not participate in the production of discourse, only in its reproduction. Consequently, they had other resources and possibilities to engage and act upon global educational discourse.

Therefore, as portrayed by teacher educators who were interviewed, the implementation in Argentina and in Brazil of the universal model of teacher education promoted by international agencies was faced by resistance, re-interpretations and several unexpected practical problems.

Furthermore, the discursive limitations implicitly shaped by global educational discourse were not inviolable, as shown by one of the Brazilian interviewees' questioning of one of the main assumptions that underlie the proposals of international agencies: that the future will present a world of permanent changes influenced by the rhythm of technological 'progress'. It has been said that discursive limitations operate as a system of possibility for knowledge: by creating the possibility for certain interpretations of the world, they constrain the possibility for other interpretations to arise. It would be expected that if (some) teacher educators question the assumptions that sustain the interpretation of the world contained in

global educational discourse, the possibilities for other interpretations to arise are enhanced.

Nevertheless, even though it is clear that discursive frames are not inviolable, global educational discourse did collaborate in the implicit delimitation of a discursive frame in teacher education in Argentina and Brazil. As has been said, global educational discourse is based on an interpretation of the future. However, as much as this discourse interprets the future, it helps to construct that (imagined) future. The underlying assumptions of international agencies are taken for granted. So, when educational systems are reformed along these lines, preparing students to adapt to a technologically driven, ever changing future, this future is constructed, leaving little space for alternative visions of the future to arise.

Adapting to the 'forever rapidly changing world'

As shown in Chapter Three, the vision of the future expressed in the proposals of UNESCO, the World Bank and OECD was based on the assumption that the structures of societies, economies and labour markets will be constantly and rapidly changing. Thus, from the perspective of these agencies, it is fundamental that educational planners predict the future in order to have an education that can keep pace with these constant changes. In addition, a fundamental proposition within the universal model of education promoted by international agencies is that educational systems, schools and students should be flexible and able to adapt to the 'rapidly changing world' of the future.

This thesis argues that the idea that the world will be permanently and rapidly changing, as expressed in the proposals of international agencies, is based on a simplistic reading of the future, and a similarly over simple interpretation of the work of authors who study contemporary social changes, such as Giddens and Castells.

Giddens, for example, argues that the world in which we live today seems "out of control – a runaway world"[5]. He acknowledges that the progress of science and technology has not made the world more certain and predicable, as the philosophers of the Enlightenment thought. Science and technology can have the opposite effect, as with ecological risk that is a result of human intervention (through science and technology) in the environment.[6] Similarly, Giddens notes that economic influences, which are certainly among the driving forces of current social changes, have also been shaped by technology. Neither are the effects of economic changes entirely positive: "The share of the poorest fifth of the world's population in global income has dropped, from 2.3 per cent to 1.4 per cent between 1989 and 1998. The proportion taken by the richest fifth, on the other hand, has risen"[7]

Thus, Giddens seems to agree with the proposition included in the proposals of international agencies, noting that profound changes that "shake up our existing ways of life, no matter where we happen to be" are taking place and will probably continue to happen[8]. However, Giddens moves on to suggest that:

> This is not – at least for the moment – a global order driven by collective human will. Instead, it is emerging in anarchic, haphazard, fashion, carried along by a mixture of influences[9].

This part of Giddens' analysis has not been captured by international agencies. These organisations assume certain 'order' in the 'forever rapidly changing world of the

future'. In the proposals of international agencies, the sense of order in future changes is provided by technological 'progress'. A text by the OECD illustrates this position (that, as shown in Chapter Three, is shared by the other two organisations that are being analysed):

> education plays a leading role: it provides and updates the skills and competences of *individual workers*, which is an essential requirement for the development of flexible *labour markets* capable of responding to the continuous changes that result from *economic restructuring*, itself strongly propelled by rapid *technological changes*[10]. (emphasis added)

Thus, when international organisations, through their universal model of education, suggest that educational systems, schools, teachers and pupils should be flexible and adaptable, they are ultimately proposing that these people and institutions should adapt to what they call 'technological changes'.

Several critiques can be made of the position of international agencies as expressed in the above quote. In the first place, international agencies implicitly add a linear notion of progress to the idea that the future will bring a rapidly changing world; assuming that technological changes are inherently positive and that, consequently, teachers and students should be flexible to uncritically adapt to these changes. However, technological change can be positive, but it can also have some problematic and even catastrophic consequences, as exemplified by the BSE debacle in Britain[11].

This critique does not entail that this thesis is suggesting that technological change should be automatically rejected. However, individuals and societies at large need to consider both the positive and negative possible consequences of technological change before deciding if and how to adopt a technological

'advancement'.

The second critique that this thesis can offer of the idea that future generations should be educated to be flexible and able to adapt to a technologically driven, ever changing future is that it does not recognise teachers' and students' agency as producers of their own identity. In other words, if the identity that is promoted among teachers and children in schools is based on the idea of flexibility and adaptability, the message is that they do not have the power to construct their own future. It is an identity that implicitly promotes resignation: the idea that since future changes cannot be controlled the only thing that can be done is to adapt to these changes.

However, authors such as Giddens and Castells do not agree with this position that stresses resignation. Giddens, for example, notes that "Many of us feel in the grip of forces over which we have no power"[12]. He then suggests that this feeling of powerlessness is a consequence of the failing of our institutions, and argues that we can re-impose our will upon these forces if we reconstruct existing institutions or if we create new ones.[13]

Similarly Castells notes that current social changes are not necessarily positive and that, therefore, sometimes it might be convenient to oppose them:

> transformation may equally lead to a whole range of heavens, hells, or heavenly hells...processes of social change in our world often take forms of fanaticism and violence that we do not usually associate with positive social change. And yet, this is our world, this is us, in our contradictory plurality, and this is what we have to understand, if necessarily face it, and to overcome it.[14]

Thus, both these authors stress the need to understand social changes and re-think

and re-construct our institutions to be able to have some control over our lives. Clearly, as captured by Antonio in the interviews presented in Chapter Six, flexible and adaptable people will not be able to re-construct their own world. On the contrary, they would 'run behind' technological changes, having little control over their lives and losing the capacity to understand, question, and participate in the construction of social changes.

When analysing the personal consequences of work in the "new capitalism"[15], Sennett notes that the meaning of the word 'flexibility' in the English language derived from the observations of trees that could bend with the wind, but they would then return to their original position. Therefore, 'flexibility' refers to the capacity to bend, but also to the capacity to recover. He then adds:

> Ideally, flexible human behaviour ought to have the same tensile strength. Adaptable to changing circumstances yet not broken by them. Society today is searching for ways to destroy the evils of routine through creating more flexible institutions. The practices of flexibility, however, focus mostly on the forces bending people.[16]

Furthermore, Sennett argues that the traits of character that emphasise flexibility become "self-destructive" for those who work in the new "flexible regime"[17].

Individuals need some stable identity, if they are to be flexible in the sense that they can yield, but also 'recover'. If schools do not provide the young with the possibility to form a meaningful identity, other "pedagogical machines" [18] will do it.

As young people become part of consumer culture, many of them relegate schools to the margin of their identities[19]. Schools have to compete, or at least coexist, with other 'pedagogical machines' such as consumer-media culture. This

culture promotes consumption as a way of life. "It "educates" the masses into an appeaseable appetite not only for goods but also for new experiences and personal fulfilment"[20] Consumption is offered as "the best way to achieve success, happiness and well-being".[21]

To deal with the coexistence of consumer-media culture, Kenway and Bullen suggest that schools and teachers should promote the political engagement of students so that they are able to "understand how consumer culture works, with and against them, when and how to oppose it; to comprehend what else is possible and how these possibilities may be made real"[22].

This thesis suggests that both teachers and students should become agents in the disputes and struggles over how to live their lives. However, if teachers and students are to become agents of their own future, schools and the educational system at large must position them as agential, promoting identities that stress agency to decide when to adapt and when to resist a given change.

Clearly, the universal model of education promoted by international agencies, that stresses flexibility and adaptability to the forever changing future propelled by technological 'progress', does not promote agency. Quite the opposite, an education that emphasises flexibility and adaptability gives the idea that a technological change is necessarily an 'advancement', and that therefore, it should be consumed.

Thus, this thesis has offered several criticisms of the universal model of education promoted by UNESCO, the World Bank and OECD. In the first place,

international agencies implicitly add a linear notion of progress to the idea that the future will bring a rapidly changing world, assuming that technological progress is inherently positive and that, consequently, teachers and students should be flexible to uncritically adapt to technological changes. Secondly, this universal model of education advocates an identity for teachers and students that stresses resignation through the idea that future changes cannot be controlled and that, therefore, the only option is to adapt to these changes. Consequently, an education that emphasises flexibility and adaptability does not recognise teachers' and students' agency in the disputes and struggles over how to live their lives and how to deal with technological change. On the contrary, the universal model of education gives the idea that technological change is necessarily positive, and that therefore, it should be consumed. As shown by Kenway and Bullen, this consumer-driven identity is also being promoted by consumer-media culture. Thus, the universal model of education does not promote teachers' and students' political engagement with the message that they receive from consumer-media culture. Quite the opposite, international agencies are implicitly reinforcing this message by stressing flexibility and adaptability.

Nevertheless, the most important criticism that can be made of the proposals of international agencies is not related to the content of the discourse that they produce through their universal model of education. After all, the above criticisms express a point of view, and if a whole model of education were to be developed from this point of view it would also be subject to criticism. As noted by Bourdieu, relativity is by definition inherent in every point of view, as a view taken from a particular point in social space[23].

The main criticism that can be made of the proposals of international agencies is the whole idea that a universal model of education can be promoted as the solution to most educational problems in most contexts. As with Jullien, there is an implicit assumption behind this idea: that education can be seen as an independent aspect of social reality and that, therefore, educational transfer is an unproblematic process.

However, this thesis has shown that far from being an unproblematic process, the movement of global educational discourse into the Argentine and Brazilian educational systems produced all-embracing reforms at the level of official discourse, but at the level of practice it faced resistance, re-interpretations and several unexpected practical problems. Thus, the process through which international agencies influence specific educational contexts is not an unproblematic process. This process requires further scrutiny.

The circulation of discourse in the educational field

This section will start by briefly reflecting upon the complexities of social space that can be deduced from the evidence presented in this thesis. It will then be suggested that the concept of educational transfer used in comparative education does not capture these complexities and that, therefore, alternative ways of thinking about foreign influences in education are needed. Finally, this section will delineate a theoretical model to map the relations between different actors in the global educational field by revising the notion of 'global educational discourse' used in this thesis.

International agencies and educational space

As has been shown in this thesis, at least since the 1950s international agencies have become fundamental actors in the educational field. In a context in which the nation-states have lost much of their legitimacy[24], and they are described as being "too small for the big problems of life and too big for the small problems of life"[25], international agencies have become a significant source of authority (or financial resources in the case of the World Bank) that can legitimise a policy agenda.

However, international agencies do not just *legitimise* a pre-existing policy agenda. As international agencies promote their abstract universal model of education as an ideal to adapt an existing system to 'the information age', they are *defining and promoting* an education policy agenda.

Therefore, understanding how these agencies operate as fundamental actors in the educational field represents a significant challenge for comparativists. Facing this challenge requires revising available concepts of space and of educational transfer. The world has changed and the field of comparative education also needs to change to understand it.

What is problematic about the notion of educational transfer used in comparative education is that it emphasises relations between national states. However, as has been shown in this thesis, spatial relations in education cannot be

explained by a theory that is centred on relations between national states. There are fundamental supranational actors in the global educational field, such as international agencies and regional blocks, but there are also some sub-national actors that are increasingly having more power to define educational policies (e.g. municipalities in Brazil).

Foucault's concept of power can be a useful theoretical device to analyse the complexity of social and educational space. Foucault notes that the problem of power should not only be analysed in terms of the state. Of course the state is important, but what Foucault suggests is that relations of power necessarily extend beyond the limits of the state. The state, "for all the omnipotence of its apparatuses, is far from being able to occupy the whole field of power relations"[26] The state can only function on the basis of a series of pre-existing power relations[27] (for example, the relation between teachers and students). One could say that the relations between teachers and students exist in their current form thanks to certain apparatuses of the state – schools and educational systems – and thanks to laws that make schooling compulsory. But even if the state regulates the existence of these relations this does not entail that the state has the absolute capacity to regulate the relations in themselves. On the contrary, Foucault notes that power is a productive net that traverses all of the social field:

> Between every point of a social body, between a man and a woman, between the members of a family, between a master and his pupil, between everyone who knows and everyone who does not, there exist relations of power which are not purely and simply a projection of the sovereign's great power over the individual; they are rather the concrete, changing soil in which the sovereign's power is grounded, the conditions which make it possible for it to function. The family, even now, is not a simple reflection or extension of the power of State; it does not act as the representative of the State in relation to children, just as the male does not act as its representative with respect to the female.

> For the State to function in the way that it does, there must be, between male and female or adult and child, quite specific relations of domination which have their own configuration and relative autonomy.[28]

Thus, Foucault's concept of power is a helpful theoretical device to map power relations between different actors in the educational field. It should also be remembered that Foucault's notion of power includes the proposition that knowledge and political power are woven together. From this perspective discourse is seen as a form of power that circulates in the social field. Therefore, a theoretical model aimed at mapping power relations in the global educational field should be centred on the analysis of discourse.

In the remaining part of this section a theoretical model to map the circulation of discourse in the educational field will be offered, starting with a revision of the concept of 'global educational discourse'.

Revisiting 'global educational discourse'

This thesis has explained the way in which international agencies influence educational reforms by indicating that these agencies were 'producing' a global educational discourse. However, it is not clear where this discourse comes from. Are international agencies reproducing through their proposals a discourse that they produce? Or are international agencies reproducing a broader discourse that is produced somewhere else?

In order to explore these questions international agencies and 'global educational discourse' need to be placed within a general theory of the circulation of

discourse in the global educational field. The development of such a theory can be divided into three tasks:

- To identify different positions within the global educational field.
- To identify the relations between these different positions or, in other words, to understand how discourse moves between these positions.
- To understand how discourse is transformed as it moves between different positions.

Bernstein's theory on how different positions of subjects 'within a discourse' affect the way in which these subjects interpret and act upon pedagogic discourse will be adapted to carry out the first of the tasks defined above. However, for the sake of clarity, Bernstein's vocabulary will be slightly altered and I will refer to 'positions within the field', rather than 'positions within discourse'.

It is important to emphasise that the different positions within the educational field are contexts of production, recontextualization and/or reproduction of discourse. Individuals can occupy more than one position within the field at the same time, or they can change their positions in the field at different times. Nevertheless, it will be the position within the field that will define the resources and possibilities that the subjects who occupy that position have to engage with and act upon educational discourse.

Five positions will be identified: global academic space, international agencies, the state, local academic space, and educational institutions. Initially each of these positions will be described and later the relations between them will be

considered.

Global academic space is the site in which 'new' ideas are selectively created and changed, and where specialised academic discourses are developed. This context is created by the positions, relations and practices arising out of the production of what I shall call 'global academic discourse'. It is at this level that the controls of the thinkable/unthinkable mostly lie:

> Today the controls on the 'unthinkable' lie essentially, but not wholly, directly or indirectly in the upper reaches of the educational [field], in the part concerned with the production rather than the reproduction of discourse; whereas the 'thinkable' is a different power-regulated recontextualizing, in the lower reaches of the educational [field] – that is, in its reproductive rather than in its productive levels.[29] *(The word 'field' has been inserted, replacing the word 'system' from Bernstein's quote to adapt it to the language of this conclusion.)*

Global academic space is constituted by the flow of ideas through social, academic and political networks. Castells suggests that there is a new spatial logic in the information age that he labels "space of flows"[30]. This spatial form is characteristic of social practices that dominate and shape what he calls the network society.[31] By flows Castells understands the "purposeful, repetitive, programmable sequences of exchange and interaction between physically disjointed positions held by social actors in the economic, political and symbolic structures of societies"[32]. The network of (mainly electronic) communications is the fundamental material support that defines this space. The space of flows is the dominant spatial logic of society because it is the spatial logic of the organisations and institutions which play a strategic role in shaping social practices and social consciousness in society at large.[33] This is the space that is occupied by the "technocratic-managerial-financial [and academic] elites"[34]

The flow of ideas that constitutes global academic space is materialised through different kinds of material supports, such as international academic journals and books, international conferences, the movement of university staff and students, and inter-national research projects[35].

The people who occupy this position are members of a world academic elite. They are individuals from different cultures that participate from this exchange of ideas, but in order to participate these people need to be 'bilingual': they have to master both their own culture and a cosmopolitan 'global academic culture' that is needed to operate in this site. Even though different cultures contribute to the formation of this 'global academic culture', this does not entail that all partners are regarded as equal in the dialogue. Western European and North American cultures are dominant in global academic space.

The second position that has been identified is the position of international agencies. As has been shown in this thesis, international agencies revitalise Jullien's perspective and they become fundamental actors of the 'practical' or 'applied' perspective in comparative education, based on questions of urgent pragmatism and melioristic action. International agencies have positioned themselves as the experts that can interpret 'global academic discourse' and translate it (through a process of over-simplification) into practical universal educational proposals.

Thus, international agencies could be seen as a site of reproduction of 'global academic discourse'. However, as international agencies reproduce this discourse

they base their proposals on a similar set of assumptions. They do not problematise that which is postulated as self-evident. Their concern for questions of urgent pragmatism blinds them from seeing on what kind of assumptions, familiar notions, of established and unexamined ways of thinking their practices are based[36]. In this way, international agencies limit their own discursive space. Thus, as they put forward their proposals, through a process of oversimplification, they are producing a different discourse that has been called in this thesis 'global educational discourse'.

The third position that has been mentioned is the state. Overall, the state is the site of production of a specific type of discourse that I will call 'policy discourse'. Therefore, the state is in a position in which it has to translate other discourses through a process of negotiation into educational policies. Which discourses? That is a fundamental question that would have a different answer in different places at different historical periods. In this sense, the state is the stake of a political battle.

The next position that has been identified is 'local academic space'. This context is created by the positions, relations and practices arising out of the production of 'local academic discourse'. This discourse is partly produced through the interpretation and translation of global academic discourse. However, this position also feeds global academic discourse with the local discourse in a circular relation. In different societies there could be considerable differences in the extent to which this position is developed. Significant particularities in the relations with other positions could also be expected in different places at different times.

Finally, educational institutions are overall created by the positions, relations and practices arising out of the reproduction of discourses produced in all or some of the other positions. In theory, in most societies, it should be the policy discourse produced by the state that should have the strongest influence on this position. However, in some societies, local academic discourse could have an important influence on institutions. In societies in which universities are engaged in research a major distinction should be made between types of institutions. In those cases, universities also participate in the production of local academic discourse, and some of them could even participate in the production of global academic discourse. Consequently, as has been shown in this thesis, the subjects who are positioned within the university have other resources and possibilities to engage with the discourse that they are expected to reproduce.

Now that the different positions have been defined, the most important issues to consider are: the relations that are established between the different positions (or how discourses move between them); and to understand how discourse is transformed as it moves between different positions.

An analysis of the relation between global educational space and international agencies in the 1980s and 1990s has already been sketched. Overall, the movement of global academic discourse to international agencies resulted in a transformation of this discourse through a process of oversimplification into what has been called in this thesis 'global educational discourse'.

When international agencies appropriate certain concepts or ideas they

transform them into an oversimplified generalisation that is offered as an educational solution for most contexts. This advocacy is made without specifying context and thus, inevitably, ideas need to be simplified to make them malleable enough to adapt to every context, but at the same time able to retain a certain stability. In this way, global educational discourse is produced. This discourse then becomes especially attractive for some states because of its simplicity[37].

This discourse introduces a language, a way of classifying and thinking about education. These words and concepts construct social reality as much as they express it and mould the way in which education is understood and thought about. An example can be seen in the difficulty to break away from the concept of 'educational systems' or the classification of primary, secondary and tertiary education. These notions have framed the way in which people think about education for many years and in many cases they were disseminated by international agencies[38].

The concept of 'lifelong learning', like the idea of an 'educational system', was probably not created by an international agency. But that is not the point. The original concept could have been very complex and specific. It is through the process of oversimplification described above, that these notions develop into a part of global educational discourse.

Furthermore, this process of oversimplification is inevitable given the way in which international agencies define social space, mainly dividing the world into developed and developing countries.[39] This way of thinking about social space might be helpful to distribute budgets and decide how much money to 'invest' in each

country or region. However, if this definition of space is used for policy diagnosis and for advocating policy it inevitably develops into dangerous generalisations. In other words, if the specific role of international agencies is to capture educational discourse and translate it into policy recommendations that can be applied in most contexts of the world (or a region) it is inevitable that this process will result in the oversimplification and over-generalisation of the original ideas.

This is a dangerous process because, as has been shown in this thesis for the cases of Argentina and Brazil, the effects of localising global educational discourse in practice cannot be predicted. Due to the specific position of international agencies within the educational field, the universal model of education that they promote cannot consider the specific contextual circumstances that affect the way in which policies are interpreted and put into practice. Consequently, the practical effects of the appropriation of global educational discourse in an educational system cannot be simply read-off from the proposals of international agencies, nor from policy discourse.

On the contrary, the exploration offered in this thesis of the movement of global educational discourse from policy discourse into practice showed that there are significant problems in the translation of the abstract simplicities of the universal model of education promoted by international agencies into context-bound interactive practices. Although the model is universal (it does not consider the specificities of each context to which it moves), the way in which the model is adopted and adapted depends on the characteristics of the contexts of reception. Consequently, the main problem is not so much that the 'anticipated' effects are not

attained, but rather the unexpected effects that global educational discourse produces as it is localised. Therefore, as will be discussed later, maybe international agencies should revise their approach that promotes global abstract strategies to solve local specific problems.

The relation between international agencies and the state – and for that matter all of the relations considered in this model – cannot be abstractly analysed. In other words, the positions in the global educational field that have been mentioned could, in principle, be used to analyse the circulation of discourse between and within different societies. However, the relations between different positions will always be specific to time and place. Thus, the relations between different positions will only be analysed in the remaining part of this conclusion for Argentina and Brazil in the 1990s.

The circulation of discourse between international agencies and the Argentine and Brazilian states in the 1990s has been the main theme of this thesis. The question about which discourse was used by the state to produce its policy discourse has a clear answer for Argentina and Brazil in the 1990s. Global educational discourse displaced available discourses in the state in both countries. Furthermore the process through which global educational discourse was translated into policies did not include a major transformation of this discourse, and no significant differences were perceived between the translations made in the Argentine and the Brazilian states. This was one of the limitations of this thesis that, by concentrating on finding the influence of international agencies, did not fully capture the particularities of official rhetoric in each country.

Local academic discourse has not been considered in any major way in this thesis. The basic question is how local academic discourse related to the state in Argentina and Brazil in the 1990s. An immediate answer, from the evidence presented in this thesis, would suggest that there was a blockage between the state and local academic space. Apparently, global educational discourse pervaded the state, leaving no space for local academic discourse. However, the uniformity of themes that can be seen in academic discourse in Argentina and Brazil in the 1980s and 1990s[40] suggests that there was also a very strong connection between global educational discourse and local academic discourse in Argentina and Brazil in the 1990s.

Thus, there seem to be two major problems with local educational space in Argentina and Brazil. The first problem is the extent to which local academic space is developed. The second problem is the extent to which local academic space in these two countries is independent from both the state and from international agencies.

I should like to put forward the argument that what happened in Argentina and in Brazil in the 1990s was that the distinction between these three different positions (international agencies, the state, and local academic space) was blurred. I know from my personal experience that most of the 'elite' academics in Argentina (and at least some of them in Brazil), as they ascend in the academic 'hierarchy', are hired by international agencies and/or by the state. Furthermore, international agencies (and to a certain extent the state) are fundamental sources of research funds

in these countries and they define an agenda when offering these funds.

The result of having the same individuals occupying these three different positions is that a class of gatekeepers is developed and discursive space is closed in these three positions. This class of gatekeepers controls the relation of the educational system to global academic space. Since these gatekeepers also control local academic space they control the production of knowledge and, consequently the relation of the educational system with the 'thinkable/unthinkable'.

If international agencies through global educational discourse close discursive space in the state and in local academic space it is very difficult for alternative ways of thinking about education to develop. In theory, it should be local academic space that should produce an alternative to global educational discourse and compete with international agencies, trying to occupy the discursive space of the state. However, this has not happened in Argentina and in Brazil in the 1990s.

The above claims about the relation between international agencies, the state, and local academic space in Argentina and Brazil in the 1990s warrant further investigation. However, before moving into a proposal for future research some comments of the position of educational institutions will be offered.

The exploration presented in this thesis about how global educational discourse and policy discourse moved into educational institutions in Argentina and Brazil showed a weak connection between educational institutions (or at least teacher training institutions) and international agencies and the state. Nevertheless, within

this overall disconnection there were significant differences in the resources and possibilities that Brazilian university lecturers had to engage with global educational discourse when compared to Argentine teacher educators. This is another sign of the importance of having a strong and independent local research community that can develop into an alternative to the discourse produced and offered by international agencies.

However, the analysis of educational institutions offered in this thesis had some limitations. As has been mentioned in Chapter Six the sample that was used in the field work was not representative of teacher educators in Argentina and Brazil. No firm generalisations could be made in the sense that most teacher educators in Argentina and Brazil interpreted the curricular guidelines in a similar way to those who were interviewed. Now that the importance of teacher educators as mediators between the message of the state and trainees has been established, a deeper analysis of how teacher educators interpreted policy discourse could be carried out with a bigger and more representative sample.

Thus, applying the model that has been offered to Argentina and Brazil in the 1990s it has been possible to map the circulation of discourse between some of the positions in the model. The model has also been helpful to identify some of the aspects that should be included in future research to complete the analysis.

Overall, then, this thesis has shown how global academic discourse is transformed through a process of oversimplification and generalisation into global educational discourse as it moves into the position of international agencies. It has

also been pointed out how global educational discourse was (weakly) transformed as it moved into the Argentine and Brazilian states and it was translated into policy discourse. From evidence of previous research it has been suggested that the distinction between international agencies, local academic space and the state has been blurred in Argentina and Brazil. Thus, local academic space is not fully developed as an independent position in Argentina and Brazil. Finally, the application of the model showed a significant disconnection between global educational discourse (and policy discourse) and educational institutions. At this level global educational discourse was significantly transformed as it met local discourses and context specific circumstances. This transformation resulted in resistance, re-interpretations and several unexpected effects.

In the introduction to this thesis I mentioned that I was disturbed by the uniformity in educational reforms and in local academic discourse in Latin America. Considering that uniformity, it seems as though these overall results could be generalised for many countries in Latin America. However, the model should be tested in these societies.

In order to use the model in other societies the positions in the model should be further developed and, in some cases, the positions themselves should be rethought. For example, if applying this model to European space, the European Union should be added as a major position. The internal logic of the EU as a position in the global educational field cannot be directly deduced from the logic of international agencies that has been identified in this chapter.

An example of a position that needs to be further developed is the position that I have identified as 'educational institutions'. This position could be broken down into a more complex set of different positions. In other words, the circulation of discourses within an educational system does not simply take place between the state, local academic space and 'educational institutions'. Provincial states, municipalities, universities, teacher training institutions and schools are in different specific positions to engage with and act upon educational discourse. A distinction between private and public schools could even be needed in some contexts.

Thus, the model that has been offered is useful to explore an essential question: Which discourses influence the policies of the state? But the model is weaker in analysing the effects of policy discourse in an actual educational system. Putting it another way, and taking the state as the axis, it can be said that the model is centred on the analysis of the external circulation of educational discourse, but it needs further development to analyse the internal circulation of discourse.

Nevertheless, several contributions have been made by this thesis to the development of a theoretical model that can map the circulation of discourse in the global educational field.

In the first place, it has been useful to think in terms of different positions within the educational field. These positions are contexts of production, recontextualization and/or reproduction of discourse. Individuals can occupy more than one position. This will inform about the relation between the positions, but it will be the internal logic of each position that will define the resources and

possibilities that the subjects who occupy that position have to engage with and act upon educational discourse.

Secondly, it has been helpful to use Foucault's concept of power, thinking about the relations between the different positions in terms of the circulation of discourses between these positions. Furthermore, it is crucial to understand the transformations that take place as a discourse moves from one position to another. In principle, two types of transformations could take place: (a) the transformations that happen as a result of the internal logic of the position that receives the discourse and; (b) the transformations that take place as the moving discourse meets available discourses in the context of reception.

The advantage of this model is that it captures some of the complexities of social and educational space that the notion of transfer could not grasp. However, this does not entail that the notion of transfer should be completely discarded.

In trans-national educational transfers, a relation is established at the level of the state. For example when the Argentine state copied the French Normal School or when Brazil implemented the US model of the Comprehensive High School[41]. In these cases, what is transferred is the official form of an educational practice, not its daily practices which could face critique and resistance[42]. The exchange of ideas takes place between two pedagogic subjects that are in the same position within the global educational field, although in different contexts. Thus, processes of 'transfer' can be included within the model to account for the circulation of discourse between two similar positions in different societies.

However, even though this thesis has made a contribution to the field of comparative education with the model that has been offered, it is clear that this model needs to be further developed, not least, by testing it in other places. The next section will consider some ideas for further research that could contribute to a greater understanding of discursive relations in the global educational field.

Future research and final thoughts

This section will reflect upon three research projects that could be undertaken as a continuation of this thesis. The first of these projects would be aimed at developing a better understanding of the position of international agencies within the educational field. This could be done by analysing in detail the proposals of international agencies for education in the 1950s and 1960s; and how these ideas influenced the Argentine and Brazilian educational fields.

The 1950s and 1960s is a strategic period to analyse the work of international agencies because it was the time in which these organisations shifted their focus from the 'reconstruction of Europe' to the development of the world. As has been shown in Chapter Four of this thesis this was also a period in which the discourse produced by these agencies started to have a strong influence on the policy discourse of the Argentine and Brazilian states.

Thus, such a project would make two major contributions. In the first place it would provide evidence that would allow for a comparison between the influence of

international agencies on Argentine and Brazilian education in the 1950s and 1960s, and the influences of these agencies in the 1990s. In this way, the internal logic of the specific position of international agencies within the educational field could be further understood. In addition, this research project would be able to explore how developmental and technocratic views, with educational planning as its paradigmatic social technology, have contributed to the conditions of possibility that allowed for the positioning of international agencies as fundamental sources of 'educational' authority.

The second research project that is suggested would be aimed at strengthening the analysis offered in this thesis about how global educational discourse moved from official rhetoric into practice in Argentina and in Brazil. This could be done by extending the field work to a larger and more representative sample of teacher educators in Argentina and in Brazil. In addition, it would be useful to analyse the secondary context – the site of communication between teacher educators and trainees – to illuminate the extent to which future teachers incorporated or not the ideas promoted in global educational discourse. Such a research project should contribute to a better understanding of how global educational discourse was interpreted in practice in these two countries, offering the possibility for firmer claims of generalisation.

In addition, such a project could be complemented with an analysis of local academic space in Argentina and in Brazil. This study could be done by examining local academic discourse produced in these countries in the 1990s. It would be especially interesting to find out if alternative ways of thinking about education were

produced in these countries, and to understand how and why they were blocked from influencing the state.

Finally, the last set of research projects that could derive from this thesis would be aimed at contributing to the development of the theoretical model that has been offered in this conclusion. One of the limitations of this model is that it was developed out of the analysis of two countries that have been very receptive of global educational discourse.

There were certain conditions that made these contexts especially susceptible to the influence of international agencies. For example, in Argentina and in Brazil there were financial problems that made the relation with international financial organisation such as the World Bank very important. In addition, there was a weak local academic space dependent on the state and international agencies; weak visions of the future at the level of the sate; and strategic lines of the governments based on the need to 'adapt' to the information age or knowledge economies.

However, these conditions will not be present in every context. Quite the opposite, there will be certain conditions that would make a given country especially resistant to the influence of international agencies.

It would be useful to add another layer to the model, introducing the concept of 'blockages' that could exist between certain positions at specific times in specific places. Such a layer could be added by testing the model in other societies in which an initial exploration of educational policies showed that the uniformity that existed

in most Latin American countries in the 1990s was not present. For example, a country like Cuba could be an interesting place to explore to find a blockage between international agencies and the state. Finally, extending this kind of research to different societies could result in a definition of a typology of conditions that make certain states more or less susceptible to the influence of international agencies.

Thus, all of the research projects that were mentioned could contribute to a better understanding of the circulation of discourse in the global educational field. Ideally, these projects (and this thesis) could also contribute to a political reflection upon the dangers of the current approaches of international agencies; and upon the dangers of not having a strong and independent local academic space in Argentina and in Brazil.

From this perspective, I should like to suggest that international agencies should revise their approach that promotes global abstract strategies to solve local specific problems. However, for this to happen, international agencies should start by opening up their discursive space, examining and problematising that which is postulated as self-evident in their work. As has been said, international agencies base their work on the assumption that education can be seen as an independent aspect of social reality and that, therefore, a universal model of education is not only possible, but also desirable. However, as has been shown in this thesis this is a dangerous assumption, because the effects of this universal model are not predictable.

If this basic assumption is not questioned, the possibility for changing the way in which international agencies influence ideas and practices in different

educational systems is meagre. As Foucault says:

> Whatever the project of reform, if its basis has not been thought working in itself; and if ways of thinking – which is to say, ways of acting – have not actually been modified, we know that it will be phagocyted and digested by behavioural and institutional modes that will always be the same.[43]

International agencies are part of the Enlightenment project. Such a messianic project is unsustainable in current conditions of so called 'post-modernity'. The term post-modernity will be simplified in this conclusion, as being a cultural perspective in which the great narratives of the Enlightenment are being rejected for being culturally, class, and gender biased; in which the capacity of human reason to understand the world and predict the future from an interpretation of the present is doubted; and in which positional knowledges are growing in opposition to the grand narratives. Thus, in post-modern perspectives, there is no place for an ideal human condition or for a generalised aim for society, and respect for diversity is essential.[44]

There is a major contradiction in the way in which international agencies have interpreted the post-modern critique. Once again international agencies have made an over simple interpretation of post-modernism, subsuming it within technocratic and developmental discourses that were dominant in this position.

In their proposals, international agencies acknowledge at least two of the post-modern critiques: that the future cannot be predicted from an interpretation of the present; and the questioning of the unitary idea of history and of the subject that underlies the Enlightenment project. The idea that the future cannot be predicted is expressed by the agencies in their assumption about a 'rapidly changing world'. Meanwhile, the idea that a unitary vision of history and of the subject is

unsustainable is expressed in their proposals through the declaration that diversity should be respected and that, consequently, teachers should be flexible to adapt contents and methods to the different cultures of their students. However, this 'acknowledgment' of the post-modern critique is announced within a universal model of education that is promoted as a global strategy that could 'improve' education in (almost) every context.

Thus, there is a major contradiction in international agencies' reading of the post-modern critique. In a perspective that admits that the future is not predictable and a unitary vision of the subject is not desirable, there should be no place for global strategies and universal models.

Therefore, international agencies need to rethink their approach. If international agencies change the way in which they think and open up their discursive space, they might really become a 'catalyst for creating and sharing cutting-edge knowledge' or a 'laboratory of ideas', connecting local space with global academic discourse. In this way, international agencies could open up the possibilities for local educational experts to think about solutions to their local specific problems. On the contrary, if international agencies do not problematise that which is postulated as self-evident in their work, they will continue promoting global magical solutions that close discursive space, and limit the possibilities for thinking about local specific solutions to local specific problems.

However, changing the approach of international agencies is not enough if Argentina and Brazil want to find specific solutions to their specific problems. I

think it is very important that Argentina and Brazil (and other Latin American countries) develop a strong and independent local academic space.

The situation is worse in Argentina than in Brazil, where full time professors and research communities are more common in the university. Nevertheless, I have shown in this thesis that both countries need to open up their discursive space. Education is a strategic area for the construction of the future. Political discussions about education cannot be limited to a binary option between adopting the recommendations of international agencies or keeping the older educational traditions.

Alternative visions of the future are needed. These can only be developed if the production of knowledge about education is improved. It is on the basis of knowledge that political decisions are taken. Thus, the state should open up its discursive space, and become the stake of a battle between a multiplicity of voices. But for a multiplicity of voices to be heard it is necessary to develop such multiple and autonomous voices.

If the local production of knowledge is enhanced in quantity and quality, and local academic space in education develops as a position that is independent from the state and from international agencies, the possibilities for constructing alternative visions of the future will be enhanced.

We need to understand social changes and how these changes affect our specific societies. In this way we will be in a better position to re-think and re-

construct our institutions and we will have some control over the construction of our future. In other words, we do not need to *'adapt'* to knowledge economies or globalisation. We need to *participate in the construction* of knowledge economies and globalisation.

We need to analyse our own reality and out of this analysis develop our own vision of the future. Thus, the importance of developing a space for the independent and creative production of knowledge. It is only if we have a strong sense of the future we want to construct that the recommendations of international agencies and other foreign influences can be taken as an input for political decisions, and not as a kind of mantra that is repeated in every official document and in most academic proposals for political change.

It is already clear that the faithful appropriation of the proposals of international agencies in the economic arena had severely negative effects in many countries of Latin America. International agencies themselves have acknowledged some of their mistakes.

In education it might not be as easy to measure in the middle term the effects of the faithful appropriation of the proposals of international agencies. Nevertheless, in the future, it would be positive if both international agencies and local experts question the possibility of applying global magical solutions to solve local specific problems.

Endnotes

[1] The concept of 'discursive oppositions' was taken from Stephen Ball, "Introducing Monsieur Foucault," in *Foucault and Education: Disciplines and Knowledge*, ed. Stephen Ball (London: Routledge, 1990), p. 157
[2] Michel Foucault, "Truth and Power," in *Michel Foucault: Power. Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984*, ed. James Faubion (London: Penguin Books, 2000), p. 120.
[3] Robert Cowen, "Knowledge Economies: Here We Go Again?," in *Universities of the Future*, ed. D Mattheou (Athens: Gutenberg Press, 2002).
[4] Stephen Ball, "What Is Policy? Texts, Trajectories and Toolboxes," in *Sociology of Education: Major Themes Vol IV*, ed. Stephen Ball (London: Routledge Falmer, 2000).
[5] Anthony Giddens, *Runaway World: How Globalization Is Reshaping Our Lives* (New York: Routledge, 2000), p. 20.
[6] Ibid., p. 21.
[7] Ibid., p. 22-23.
[8] Ibid., p. 37
[9] Ibid.
[10] George S. Papadopoulos, *Education 1960-1990: The OECD Perspective* (Paris: OECD, 1994), p. 171.
[11] Giddens, *Runaway World: How Globalization Is Reshaping Our Lives*, p. 53.
[12] Ibid., p. 37.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Manuel Castells, *The Power of Identity*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), pp. 3-4.
[15] Richard Sennett, *The Corrosion of Character: The Personal Consequences of Work in the New Capitalism* (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1998).
[16] Ibid., p. 46.
[17] Ibid., p. 63.
[18] Jane Kenway and Elizabeth Bullen, *Consuming Children: Education-Entertainment-Advertising* (Buckingham and Philadelphia: Open University Press, 2001), p. 158.
[19] Ibid., p. 149-51.
[20] Ibid., p. 155.
[21] Ibid., p. 32.
[22] Ibid., p. 152.
[23] Pierre Bourdieu, "Social Space and Symbolic Power," *Sociological Theory* 7, no. 1 (1989): p. 22.
[24] Castells, *The Power of Identity*, pp. 243-61.
[25] Daniel Bell cited in Anthony Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity in association with Blackwell, 1990), p. 65.
[26] Foucault, "Truth and Power,", p. 123.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Michel Foucault, "The History of Sexuality," in *Power/Knowledge. Selected Interviews and Other Writings. 1972-1977*, ed. Colin Gordon (Brighton: The Harvester Press, 1980).
[29] Basil Bernstein, *The Structuring of Pedagogic Discourse* (London: Routledge, 1990), p. 181.
[30] Manuel Castells, *The Rise of the Network Society*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), p 408.
[31] Ibid., p 442.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Castells, *The Rise of the Network Society*, p 443.
[35] Of course, this is not a closed list and other material supports could be included in the list.
[36] See Michel Foucault, "So Is It Important to Think?," in *Michel Foucault: Power. Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984*, ed. James Faubion (London: Penguin Books, 2000), p. 456; For an example of this type of reasoning in the work of international agencies see George Psacharopoulos, "Comparative Education: From Theory to Practice, or Are You A:\Neo.* or B:*.Ist," *Comparative Education Review* 34, no. 3 (1990).
[37] Stephen Ball, "Big Policies/Small World: An Introduction to International Perspectives in Education Policy," *Comparative Education* 34, no. 2 (1998).
[38] Robert Cowen, "Introducción Al *Dossier* Nuevas Tendencias En Educación Comparada [Introduction to the Dossier 'New Trends in Comparative Education]," *Propuesta Educativa* 10, no. 23 (2000).

[39] For the World Bank the world is divided into two types of countries: developed and developing. This concept of space is defined in terms of the wealth of nations, thus "low – and middle – income countries" coincide with "developing countries", in contrast to countries that are members of the OECD and, thus, are high income and "developed" countries. Then, the low and middle income countries are divided into six regions: Sub-Saharan Africa, East Asia and the Pacific, Europe and Central Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, the Middle East and North Africa, and South Asia. Marlaine E. Lockheed, *Improving Primary Education in Developing Countries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for World Bank, 1992), p. 63; World Bank, *Priorities and Strategies for Education: A World Bank Sector Review* (Washington, DC: World Bank, 1995), p. xv. UNESCO divides the world into "developed and developing countries". However, UNESCO includes more countries within the category of "developed" – like the former members of the USSR – and divides these countries into three zones: North America, Asia and Oceania and Europe and the Russian Federation. The other particularity is that within the "developing" countries, which are divided into similar regions as in the World Bank, it creates the category of "least developed countries". UNESCO, *World Education Report* (Paris: Unesco, 1995), p. 103. Meanwhile, the OECD divides the countries of the world into three categories: OECD members, "transitions and emerging economies", and "developing countries". OECD. Web page. Cited November 2001. Available from www.oecd.org

[40] Jason Beech, "*Argentine and Brazilian Education under the Discourse of the Information Age*" (Unpublished MA Thesis, Institute of Education, University of London, 2001); Jason Beech, "Latin American Education: Perception of Linearities and the Construction of Discursive Space," *Comparative Education* 38, no. 4 (2002).

[41] Jose Oliveira Arapiraca, *A USAID e a Educação Brasileira [USAID and Brazilian Education]* (São Paulo: Editora Autores Associados and Cortez Editora, 1982), pp. 149-62.

[42] Robert Cowen, "Sketches of a Future: Renegotiating the Unit Ideas of Comparative Education," in *Internationalisation: Comparing Educational Systems and Semantics*, ed. Marcelo Caruso and Heinz-Elmar Tenorth (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2002).

[43] Foucault, "So Is It Important to Think?," p. 457.

[44] Zygmunt Bauman, *Intimations of Postmodernity* (London: Routledge, 1992); Zygmunt Bauman, *Legislators and Interpreters: On Modernity, Post-Modernity and Intellectuals* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995); Jean-Francois Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984).

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Methodological Annexe

This methodological annexe presents the interview guides used to structure the conversations with Argentine and Brazilian teacher educators analysed in Chapter Six. The interviews were divided into three sections. The first two sections used the same questions in Argentina and in Brazil. Thus, although the interviews were conducted in Spanish and Portuguese, to avoid repetition, a translation into English of the first two sections is offered in this Annexe. In the third section of the interviews, participants were presented with a series of principles selected from the curricular guidelines for teacher education, and they were asked to comment on these principles. Of course, the extracts from the curricular guidelines were different in each country. Thus, the original extracts will be presented in Portuguese and Spanish, followed by a translation into English.

Interview Guide

Introducing myself

- I am a Doctoral student in the IOE.
- I work in the School of Education at Universidad de San Andres in Buenos Aires.
- My thesis is a comparative study of the latest curricular reforms for teacher education in Argentina and Brazil.
- I request your permission to tape-record the interview.

- Confidentiality: I will not mention your name or the name of your institution in the thesis.
- The interview will last for 45 minutes approximately.
- Semi-structured: There are some themes which I would like to discuss with you, but in general we can converse freely about the curricular reform in Argentina (or Brazil), your opinion on the reform, and how it has affected your daily work.
- The interview will be divided into 3 sections:
  A. An introduction in which I'll ask you about some general data on your work.
  B. A specific discussion on the curricular reform.
  C. Finally, I am going to ask for your opinion on certain themes that were included in the national curricular guidelines for teacher education.

A. Introduction (start to record)

1. What is your name?
2. For how long have you been working in teacher education?
3. Which subjects are you currently teaching?
4. How do you select the contents and the bibliography for these subjects?

B. The curricular reforms

5. Have you read the curricular guidelines for teacher education?
   a) If 'no',
      i. Why? Any special reason?
      ii. Did you receive a copy?

iii. Is there a copy in your institution?
iv. Do you have an idea of which contents were included in the curricular guidelines?

b) If 'yes',

i. Where did you get them from? Government? Institution? Colleagues? Internet?
ii. What is you general opinion on the document?
- In your opinion which are the most important points?
- Do you perceive any great discontinuities in relation to previous curricular documents in Argentine (or Brazilian) education?

6. What has been done in you institution to adapt to the new curricular guidelines?

a) Did you have any general meetings to discuss this issue?

b) Did you receive any recommendations from the authorities of your institution?

c) Was the curriculum for the pedagogical part of teacher education modified in your institution? How?

7. Did you change the contents of the subjects that you teach? How?

8. Did you change the bibliography that you recommend to your students?

a) How?

b) Why?

9. The new curricular guidelines say that they establish a new paradigm for teacher education. One of the novelties of this new paradigm is that teacher education is based on the fostering of competencies.
    a) What is you opinion on this concept?
    b) Do you think that this represents a big rupture with previous education in Argentina (or Brazil)?
    c) Did something change in your practice on the basis of this concept?

C. Third section

10. I have selected some principles that are promoted in the curricular guidelines for teacher education. For each of these principles I would like to know the following:

- First, if you think that these principles are relevant and important;
- Secondly, if you think that these principles are new in Argentine (or Brazilian) education;
- Finally, if you adapted your lessons (both contents and methodology) to incorporate these principles.

Some 'prompts' for this section:

- Do you think it is possible to foster this kind of competencies in teacher education?
- Which strategies do you use to foster these competencies?
- Overall, do you think that the students in your institution are developing these competencies?

Principles that were presented to interviewees in Brazil

a) As DCN sugerem que a formação docente deveria promover o "desenvolvimento da disposição para atualização constante de modo a inteirar-se dos avanços do conhecimento nas diversas áreas..."
The new DCN suggest that teacher education should promote "the development of the disposition for permanent training in order to be aware of the progress of knowledge in different areas..."

b) Promover uma prática educativa que leve em conta as características dos alunos e de seu meio social...
To promote an educational practice that takes into consideration the characteristics of students and of their social context...

c) Manejar diferentes estratégias de comunicação dos conteúdos, sabendo eleger as mais adquadas, considerando a diversidade dos alunos, os objectivos das atividades proposatas e as características dos próprios conteúdos;
Dominate different strategies for communicating the contents, knowing how to chose the most adequate strategies according to the diversity of students, the aims of the activities that have been planned, and the characteristics of the contents themselves;

Utilizar modos diferentes e fléxiveis de organização do tempo, do espaço e de agrupamento dos alunos, para favorecer e enriquecer seu processo de desenvolvimento e aprendizagem;
To use different and flexible modes of organising time, space and the grouping of students, in order to favour and enrich their development and their learning;

d) Situações escolares de ensino e aprendizagem são situações comunicativas, nas quais alunos e professores coparticipam, concorrendo com influência igualmente decisiva para o êxito do processo....nada pode substituir a atuação do próprio aluno na tarefa de construir significados sobre os conteúdos da aprendizagem.

School teaching and learning situations are situations of communication, in which both students and teachers participate, having an equally decisive influence on the success of the process....nothing can substitute the action of a student in the task of constructing meanings related to the contents of the learning process.

e) Ensinar requer dispor e mobilizar conhecimentos para improvisar, isto é, agir em situações não previstas, intuir, atribuir valores e fazer julgamentos que fundamentem a ação ...Por essas razões, a pesquisa (ou investigação) que se desenvolve no âmbito do trabalho de professor refere-se, antes de mais nada, a uma atitude cotidiana de busca de compreensão dos processos de aprendizagem e desenvolvimento de seus alunos e à autonomia na interpretação da realidade...

Teaching requires the mobilisation of knowledge in order to improvise, that is, to act in unexpected situations, to know by intuition, and to make judgements on which the action can be based ... For those reasons, the research that takes place within the working environment of a teacher should promote amongst teachers a daily attitude aimed at understanding the processes of learning and development of students, and an autonomous interpretation of reality.

f) Atuar com professionalismo... requer ainda, que o professor saiba avaliar criticamente a própria atuação e o contexto em que atua e que saiba, também, interagir cooperativamente com a comunidade profissional a que pertenece e com a sociedade.

In order to act professionally, teachers need to be able to critically evaluate their own practice and the context in which they work. They must also know how to interact cooperatively with the community in which they work and with society.

Assim é preciso que eles próprios – os professores – sejam desafiados por situações-problema que os confrontem com difrentes obstáculos, exigindo superação e que experienciem situações didáticas nas quais possam refletir, experimentar e ousar agir, a partir dos conhecimentos que possuem.
Thus, teachers must be challenged with problem-solving situations in which they are faced with different obstacles that they will have to overcome. They must also experience teaching situations in which they can reflect, experiment and dare to act on the basis of the knowledge that they already have.

Principles that were presented to interviewees in Argentina

a) Los CBC proponen que los futuros docentes deben dominar diferentes estrategias pedagógicas para poder "adaptar su intervención pedagógica" a las características específicas de los alumnos y del contexto en el que trabajan.
The CBC suggest that future teachers should have a wide range of pedagogic strategies in order "to adapt their pedagogic intervention" to the specific characteristics of the students and the context in which they work.

b) Para poder decidir cuándo y cómo adaptar sus estrategias pedagógicas, los CBC enfatizan que los docentes deben adquirir la capacidad para "fundamentar teóricamente sus prácticas pedagógicas". Es decir, que en la formación docente se debería enfatizar la comprensión teórica de los procesos de enseñanza y aprendizaje.

The CBC emphasise that in order to be able to decide when and how to adapt their pedagogic strategies, teachers should acquire the capacity to "offer a theoretical support to their pedagogic practices". Thus, in teacher education a theoretical understanding of the processes of teaching and learning should be emphasized.

c) Los CBC definen al docente como un mediador entre el conocimiento y el alumno (ej: Bloque de Mediación Pedagógica), promoviendo una educación centrada en el alumno.
The CBC define the teacher as a mediator between knowledge and students (eg.: the Block that is called Pedagogic Mediation), promoting a student-centred education.

d) Los CBC le dan mucha importancia al fortalecimiento de la capacidad para "la toma de decisiones fundamentales a la hora de enseñar". Entre estas decisiones que debe tomar el docente, están las relativas a las estrategias de enseñanza que utiliza, pero también las referidas a la selección de contenidos.
Se dice por ejemplo que los futuros docentes deben:

- poseer un "marco interpretativo y herramientas que le permitan participar de [los procesos de definición curricular]"
- analizar críticamente los CBC, sugiriendo ideas para su "permanente mejoramiento"

The CBC stress the need to strengthen the capacity of teachers to make fundamental decisions when teaching. Among the decisions that the teacher must make, the CBC mention decisions related to the pedagogic strategies that the teacher uses, but also decisions about the selection of contents. For example, the CBC suggest that future teachers must:

- *have an "interpretative frame and tools that allow them to participate of [the processes of curricular definition]"*
- *analyse critically the CBC, suggesting ideas for their "permanent improvement"*

"Se trata, en síntesis, de brindar las herramientas conceptuales, procedimentales y actitudinales que aseguren la participación protagónica de los futuros docentes en los aspectos curriculares..."

"Summarising, it is about providing teachers with the conceptual and attitudinal tools that can guarantee their significant participation in curricular aspects..."

En las expectativas de logro se mencionan:

1. "Conocerán, comprenderán y serán capaces de participar en procesos curriculares, especialmente a nivel de aula y de las instituciones"
2. "Serán capaces de utilizar los documentos curriculares vigentes...analizarlos críticamente y sugerir mejoras"
3. "Serán capaces de utilizar y analizar críticamente desarrollos curriculares y de seleccionarlos de acuerdo a sus necesidades para el trabajo pedagógico"

Some of the learning outcomes that are mentioned in the CBC are the following:

1. *"They will know, they will understand, and they will be able to participate of curricular processes, specially at the level of the classroom and at the institutional level".*
2. *"They will be capable of using the current curricular documents...analysing them critically and suggesting improvements".*
3. *"They will be capable of using and analysing curricular developments, selecting them according to their needs for their pedagogic work".*